

# Christian Orient

ISSN 0258 - 1744

December  
1988

Property of  
Graduate Theological Union

1989 27 1989

## ECUMENISM

### EDITORIAL

### ORIENTAL THEOLOGY

### PROSELYTISM - A TERM TO BE RECONSIDERED

### A CHURCH COMING OF AGE

### THE SAKAS OF INDIA AND THE SAKA ERA

### THE RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY OF EASTERN

### CHURCHES FOR TODAY

### COMMUNIQUE

### NEWS

K. Luke

Octavian Barlea

George Fodor

J. J. Morris

John Madey



# CHRISTIAN ORIENT

An Indian Journal of Eastern Churches for Creative  
Theological Thinking

## EDITORIAL BOARD

### Section Editors

<i>Ecclesiology</i>	Dr. Xavier Koodapuzha
<i>Spirituality</i>	Dr. Varghese Pathikulangara
<i>Liturgy</i>	Dr. Jacob Vellian
<i>Ecumenism</i>	Dr. Geevarghese Chediath
<i>News &amp; Documentation</i>	Dr. Wilson Ukken
<i>Managing Editor</i>	Dr. Thomas Mannooramparampil

## ECUMENISM

### CONTENTS

Editorial	<i>G. Chediath</i>	153
Oriental Theology	<i>K. Luke</i>	155
Proselytism - a term to be reconsidered	<i>Octavian Barlea</i>	171
A Church Coming of Age	<i>George Fodor</i>	176
The Sakas of India and the Saka Era	<i>J. J. Morris</i>	180
The Relevance of the Study of Eastern Churches for Today	<i>John Madey</i>	191
Communique of the Fifth non-official Consultation between theologians of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church (Vienna, September 18-25, 1988)		201
News		204

December

Vol. IX

No. 4

Copyright : Christian Orient Trust, Kottayam 1986.

Manuscripts and Book Reviews are to be sent to the **Managing Editor, Christian Orient Trust**, P. B. 1. Vadavathoor, Kottayam - 686 010. Kerala, India.

Annual Subscription: Rs. 20/-; Foreign : \$ 15/- by air mail, \$ 10/- sea mail.

## Editorial

In this issue of *Christian Orient* we are happy to publish the articles on "Oriental Theology", "Proselytism—a term to be reconsidered", "Pastoral Ministry in the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church", "The Sakas in India and the Saka Era", and "The Relevance of the study of Eastern Churches for Today".

Dr. Luke, ofm (cap.), Calvary Ashram, Trichur, who is known to the readers of *Christian Orient* through his various articles, is a great philologist and orientalist. He is opening a new field which is very little known in Kerala and India, namely the Russian Orthodox Theology. In the Divine Providence, the East Syrian, the Antiochen, the Latin, the protestant, and to some extent the Armenian traditions are known and spread in India. But the Byzantine and Coptic traditions are very little known here. In recent years, there are praiseworthy attempts from the part of the Malankara Orthodox Church to come closer to the Russian and other Byzantine traditions. But so far among the Catholics the Russian and the other Byzantine traditions are very little known and appreciated. There is in fact no attempt to know and to appreciate the Russian Orthodox tradition and to come closer to that church and tradition. Fr. K. Luke opens us this field which is indeed very rich and will be relevant to the Indian context. The Russian Orthodox Church, although a younger Church compared to the Church of the Thomas Christians, has a message to convey to the world at large and Fr. Luke invites the readers, especially the Indian readers, to take Pain to study this rich tradition.

In today's ecumenical discussions there is so much talk on "proselytism". Dr. Octavian Barlea, honorary prelate and Consultor, Congregation for the Oriental Churches, and Superior of the Romanian Catholic Mission in Germany, explains the significance of the term, proselytism. According to the author, the term is much misunderstood and he tries to give the correct meaning of the expression: "We should not", he says, "consider as proselytism those efforts which have tended to restoring the unity of the Church of Christ. But the aggressions against the Oriental Catholic Churches must be considered as proselytism." The same author proposes earnestly that a Conference of the Oriental Catholic Churches is an urgent need. We have already voiced the issue through the pages of *Christian Orient* and we do hope that there will be some answer to it in the near future.



The next article is on the Pastoral Ministry in a sister church, the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church, by George Fodor from the Major Seminary of the Eparchy of Hajdudorog/Hungary. He explains briefly how the married clergy in the Hungarian Catholic Church is very successful.

Dr. J. J. Morris, who has widely read about the early period of Indian history is opening a new horizon. His article on the "Saka Era" paves the way for an entirely new kind of evaluation of the early literature and culture in India. According to him, the whole early literature in India has to be reinterpreted.

In the article, "Relevance of the study of Eastern Churches for Today", Prof. Dr. J. Madey is analysing the recent document of the Congregation for Catholic Education (Rome) on the study of the Eastern Churches in catholic Faculties and Seminaries. This article is very relevant in the Indian context, especially when there is so much antipathy and allergy for matters oriental and for Eastern Ecclesial traditions in several quarters chiefly due to prejudices and ignorance. Even today many in India identify the Catholic Church of Christ with the Roman Church (latin-western church).

Finally we are happy to publish the "Joint Communique of the Fifth non-Official Ecumenical Consultation between the Theologians of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church at Vienna, in September (18-25), 1988.

Paurastya Vidyāpīṭam  
Vadavathoor, Kottayam – 686 010

G. Chediath



# Oriental Theology

In a study on the relations between the Russian Orthodox and Catholic Churches, Mgr. Albert Rauch penned the following words, which will come as a surprise to many a reader:<sup>1</sup>

The new understanding of the Church and her unity has, decades since, been prepared by the renewal in philosophical and theological thinking. This has been decisively influenced by Russian thinkers. The doctrine of "Sobornost" (conciliarity) and its concrete realization in the Russian Orthodox tradition passed, from Khomyakov and his disciples over into Catholic thought. This is especially the case with the understanding of the Church as *koinonia*: that belongingness to her is not determined merely through "membership," but through abiding in *koinonia*, the heavenly and earthly communion in Christ,

which is effected by the Holy Spirit. The "eucharistic ecclesiology" of Afansiev and his disciples has been partly incorporated, almost verbatim, into the definition of Vatican II and into the revised Code of Canon Law (Canon 369).

The Code of Law of the Latin Church embodies, then, Oriental notions!<sup>2</sup> The themes of wisdom and the new creation (which is itself the primordial creation), and the conception of the Church as the great mystery, as developed by Soloviev and Bulgakov, also had its impact on Vatican II<sup>3</sup>. Russian theology has therefore contributed to the definitions of Vatican II. There is nothing to be wondered at, because, of all the Oriental Churches, it is the Russian Orthodox Church that has created a truly original and genuinely profound systematic theology, and it is the purpose of this article to recount

- 
1. Rauch, "Oekumene der Russisch-Orthodoxen Kirche mit der Katholischen Kirche," *Das heilige Russland 1000 Jahre Russisch-Orthodox Kirche* (Freiburg, 1988) pp. 204-8 (p. 206).
  2. Rauch, *ibid.* The relevant passage from Canon 369 runs thus: "...gathered ... in the Holy Spirit through the Gospel and the Eucharist, it constitutes a particular Church, in which the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church of Christ is truly present and operative." This is a theological canon which has no parallel in the Code of 1917, and which makes use of oriental categories of expression. Cf. J. A. Coriden et alii, *The Code of Canon Law* (TPI ed., Bangalore, 1986) p. 316.
  3. Rauch writes: "Die Lehre von der geschaffenen Weisheit, der 'neuen Schöpfung', die zugleich Urschöpfung ist, die das All durchwaltet... ist durch grosse russische Denker wie Solovjev und Bulgakov ebenfalls mitbestimmend geworden für die neue Sicht der Kirche. Die Kirche wird wieder erkannt als mysterium, erscheint uns personal als 'Mutter Kirche, im Bild der Jungfrau und Mutter Maris'" (*ibid.*).



this interesting history.<sup>4</sup> We begin our account with a brief discussion on the nature of theology.

### I. What is Theology

We may best define theology as the explicitation of Christian experience,<sup>5</sup> and by Christian experience we mean the believer's experience of Christ's death and resurrection; strictly speaking, Christian theology saw the light of day when the Apostles had the vision of the risen Christ and subsequently began to preach about his death and resurrection. The

spirited confession of faith, "The Lord has risen indeed, and has appeared to Simon" (Lk 24:34) is the whole of the Christian faith in a nutshell, and passages such as Acts 2:22-36, etc. and I Cor 15:3-8 are specimens of early Christian theology, wherein we see the Apostles making explicit with the categories of thought and expression they had at their disposal, their experience of Christ's death and resurrection.

Experience is something that belongs to the sphere of prereflective

- 
4. There is a vast literature on the theological traditions of the Oriental Churches, not even a trickle of which ever reaches India, and the bibliographical indications in this article are meant to serve as a first introduction to a most fascinating field of study. Two works that offer a general orientation are J. Assfalg-P. Krüger (eds.), *Kleines Wörterbuch des Christlichen Orients*, Wiesbaden, 1975 (deals with the Oriental Churches of Asia and Africa), and E. von Ivanka et alii (eds.), *Handbuch der Ostkirchlichenkunde*, Düsseldorf, 1971 (a bulky volume with detailed discussions). For a brief account, by a Catholic scholar, of theologizing in Russia, cf. B. Schultze, *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1967) XII, pp. 756-61. For a presentation by a Russian scholar, cf. G. Florovsky, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (7 vols., Studienausgabe, Tübingen, 1986) VI, cols. 779-82. Special mention must be made here of B. Mondin, *I grandi teologi del secolo ventesimo* (2 vols., Turin, 1969) II, pp. 257-72 (introduction to the history of Orthodox theology), 273-340 (the theologians Bulgakov, Florovsky and Lossky). The following are works of synthesis by Catholic scholars. B. Emmi, *Introduzione alla teologia orientale*, Rome, 1958. M. Gordillo, *Compendium theologiae orientalis*, Rome, 1950 (reprints). Id. *Theologia orientalium cum latinorum comparata*. Orientalia Analecta Christiana 158, Rome, 1960. Id., *Mariologia orientalis*. Orientalia... 141, Rome, 1954. M. Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium ab ecclesia catholica dissidentium*. 5 vols., Paris, 1926-36. A. Palmieri, *Theologia dogmatica orthodoxa (ecclesiae graeco-russicae) ad lumen catholicae doctrinae examinata*. 2 vols., Florence, 1911-13 (cf. too nn. 41 and 44 below).
  5. The importance of experience on the elaboration of theology has not been recognized by Catholic theologians, especially because of the fear that the Christian faith would be reduced to mere feeling. For the Orthodox, contemplation of God is the very basis of theology: "Die byzantinische Th. war tief in der Andacht und mystische Kontemplation verwurzelt. Sie fand ihre Vollendung in der Bewegung der Hesychasten, die th. von Gregor Palamas interpretiert wurde" (Florovsky, *op. cit.*, col. 779); this is the case with regard to Russian theology as well (following as it does the Byzantine tradition).



*cogito* or the *irrêflecti*<sup>6</sup>, and the work of translating it into the categories of thought the mind has at its disposal and expressing it in words is what we call explicitation, the activity of making explicit; this is essentially an interpretative or hermeneutic operation, which is concretely realized through the manipulation of language<sup>7</sup>. It is therefore something linguistic, a *Sprachereignis*, as experts call it,<sup>8</sup> and it brings out the virtualities implicitly contained in experience (in our case, the experience of Christ's death and resurrection).

The Apostles who were Jews by birth, made use of Jewish categories of thought and expression while proclaiming the Christian message, and those preachers who came from the Hellenistic cultural milieu naturally utilized Hellenistic categories of thought and expression, thus creating a close bond between the Christian faith and Greek philosophy, so much so that the Greek categories became an integral element in the expression of the Christian faith. There took

place what experts have characterized as the acute Hellenization of the Gospel proclaimed by Jesus,<sup>9</sup> something which must be regarded as part of the historical process set in motion by the spread of the faith in the Greek world.

One of the general tendencies of mind is to create systems,<sup>10</sup> in which can be recapitulated all the disparate and disconnected, and also apparently unrelated items in a particular field, and thus produce a synthesis<sup>11</sup> in which everything has its place. It is well known that all the fields of knowledge have now a days developed into systems, and, no wonder, if Christian theology too evolved into a system: there is systematic theology, which is a highly technical and thoroughly specialized discipline.<sup>12</sup> When we speak about oriental theology, we have in mind systematic theology, or in traditional terminology, dogmatic theology (church dogmatics) which is essentially speculative and must be clearly distinguished from Christian praxis.

6. The part prereflective thought has to play in the elaboration of philosophy is acknowledged by the existentialists and the phenomenologists.
7. On this point, cf. J. M. Angadiyil, *From Modal-Language to Model-Language. A plea for the Cognitivity of Religious Discourse* PhD diss., Louvain., 1980.
8. That is, language-event; exhaustive discussions in H.-G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, London, 1975. Short account in Luke, "Semantics and Hermeneutics," *Journal of Dharma* 5 (1980) pp. 20-37.
9. An extreme form of this position is defended by Liberal Protestant theologians, a point that need not be elaborated here.
10. The Greek word *sustêma* means "a whole compounded of parts, a composition" (from *sunistêmi*, "to set together, combine, unite"), and is employed as synonym *suntagma*, "that which is put together in order" (from *suntassô*, "to put together in order"). Several attempts have been made to define *sustêma*; Kant, for instance, defines it as "die Einheit der mannigfaltigen Erkenntnisse unter einer Idee" (cf. G. Gloege, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* VI, col. 584).
11. Another Greek word conveying the idea of putting together, composition, combination (from *suntithêmi*, "to put together"). Both *sustêma* and *synthesis* involve the mind's action of imposing its a priori categories on the disjunctive data it has before it, in order to unify them and view them as a whole.
12. It is to be noted that progress in theology means theology's becoming more and more abstract and technical.



The ultimate basis of speculative/systematic theology must be properly grasped. The believer spontaneously, automatically reflects on the experience he has had of Christ's death and resurrection,<sup>13</sup> and this activity of his can assume concrete form and shape as action and thought: action becomes crystalized as the full living of the Christian faith (in other words, as Christian praxis, Christian orthopraxis)<sup>14</sup>, and as cult or worship (that is, Christian liturgy); thought in its full development is speculative/systematic theology. All three – praxis, worship and theologizing – belong together, and constitute the normal expression of the believer's experience of Christ's death and resurrection.

People at times say, "Our theology is liturgical theology",<sup>15</sup> a statement which only goes to show that (for reasons that will become clear from the discussions in the next section) an important element in the Christian faith has remained stunted, blunted,

and stultified, in simple words, undeveloped. The liturgical books, for example have nothing to contribute to the problem of hermeneutics; or again, they are not going to shed any light on the question of creation and evolution, grace and free will, and so on. Liturgical theology is not the whole of theology, and though it will certainly contribute to the growth of piety, it can never serve as a substitute for speculative/systematic theology.

## II. Philosophy and its Role in Theology

It is reason that makes it possible for the believer to synthesize the data of the Christian faith and thus produce an all-comprehensive system, which means that systematic theology is built on the foundation of a philosophy, and all the great system-builders were dependent on some philosophy or other. Origen (180-254?),

- 
13. In other words, God's self-revelation as realized in Christ's death and resurrection. Among Catholics the Pre-Vatican II understanding of theologizing has been that it consists in the theologians' activity of explaining and communicating the teachings of the infallible magisterium. This is too rigid and narrow a conception that fails to take into account of the fact that the Holy Spirit is present and active in the Church which is a *koinonia* (and not exclusively in the upholders of the teaching magisterium).
  14. In all the Christian Churches the emphasis has been on *orthodoxia*, "orthodoxy," to the detriment of *orthopraxis* "right praxis." The Inquisition, for instance, is orthodoxy at work in all its ruthlessness, to the detriment of Christian praxis.
  15. It is the Orientals who often repeat this statement. The Protestant scholar R. Boyd, *An Introduction to Indian Christian Theology* (Madras, 1969) p. 9, notes that the theology of the Syrian Churches, preserved chiefly in the liturgy, "has remained entirely Syrian, based on the Syriac language, and theologically as far from Indian thought as is Roman or Protestant theology." We wish to note here that liturgical theology is something *manqué*, representing a partial endeavour to grasp and express the total content of the Christian faith. For the Oriental point of view, cf. A. Schmeman, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology*, London, 1966. T. Tyciak, *Die Liturgie als Quelle östlicher Frömmigkeit*, Ecclesia orans 20, Feriburg, 1937. Id., *Gegenwart des Heils in den östlichen Liturgien*, Sophia 9, *ibid.*, 1968.



whose *Peri archōn*<sup>16</sup> is the first systematic exposition of the Christian faith: was himself a philosopher,<sup>17</sup> and the next systematizer, Augustine (354-430), made full use of Plato's philosophy.<sup>18</sup>

In the Middle Ages St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-74) created a system on the basis of Aristotle's philosophy,<sup>19</sup> and there were too other men such as St. Bonaventure (1221-74),<sup>20</sup> and

Duns Scotus (1265-1308),<sup>21</sup> who, continuing the Platonico-Augustinian tradition, produced their own syntheses, which, however, never had any impact comparable to that of Thomism. The medieval synthesis underwent a further development in the age of the Reformation,<sup>22</sup> and Calvin who was an eminent thinker (unlike Luther who was an exegete), published the

16. Critical edition, P. Koetschau, *Origenes Werke. V. De Principiis (Peri Archōn)*. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der drei ersten Jahrhunderte 22. Leipzig, 1913. English translation in G. W. Butterworth, *Origen on the First Principles*, Harper Torchbooks - The Cathedral Library, New York, 1966 (with an exhaustive introduction by de Lubac). H. Görgemanns-H. Karpp, *Origenes. Vier Bücher von den Prinzipien (Peri Archōn; De Principiis)*. Texte zur Forschung 24, 2nd ed., Darmstadt, 1985 (bilingual edition with critical and explanatory notes and *Nachtrag*). Reference must be made here to H. Crouzel, *Bibliographie critique d'Origène*, The Hague, 1971 (a second volume in preparation). The two-volume edition in the series "Sources Chrétiennes" (Paris, 1978-80) is not accessible to the writer.
17. For details, cf. R. Cadiou, *Introduction au système d'Origène*, Paris, 1932. H. Koch, *Pronoia und Paideusis. Studien über Origenes und sein Verhältnis zum Platonismus*, Berlin, 1932. J. W. Trigg, *Origen. The Bible and Philosophy in the Third-Century Church*, London, 1983. Cf. too U. Berner, *Origenes*. Erträge der Forschung 147, Darmstadt, 1981 (deals with the Tura-find, and offers a synthetic account of Origen-research).
18. The literature on Augustine is legion; we would like to cite here three titles. O. Andersen (ed.), *Zum Augustin-Gespräch der Gegenwart*. 2 Vols., Wege der Forschung 5,327. Darmstadt, 1975-81. C. Boyer, *Christianisme et néoplatonisme dans la formation de saint Augustin*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1953. E. Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de saint Augustin*, 3rd., Paris, 1949.
19. M.-D. Chenu, *Introduction à l'étude de saint Thomas d'Aquin* Paris, 1950. Gilson, *The Christian Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas* New York, 1956.
20. Gilson, *La philosophie de saint Bonaventure*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1953 (English translation of the first edition, London, 1938).
21. Catholics have on the whole neglected, nay, have even been hostile to Scotus, whereas Protestants have been quite appreciative of him. The Luthern scholar W. Betzendörfer calls him "der scharfsinnigste Denker MA," and because of his critical attitude he adopts to traditional positions, he likens him to Kant: "D ist... Kant vergleichbar" (*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* II, cols. 283-85). For literature, cf. O. Schäfer, *Bibliographia de vita, operibus et doctrina I. D: Scoti saecula XIX-XX*, Rome, 1955.
22. Concise presentation of Protestant views on dogmatics in Gloege, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* II, cols. 221-30; cf. too H. -H. Schrey, *ibid.*, VI, cols. 769-75.



foremost work in the field of Protestant dogmatics.<sup>23</sup>

Two modern Protestant theologians who defend wholly different positions must be mentioned here. Paul Tillich (1886–1968) accepts the analogy of being and his theology has in it more of philosophy than theology in the conventional sense.<sup>24</sup> Karl Barth (1886–1965) very closely follows Calvin,<sup>25</sup> and though he repudiates analogy of being, natural theology, and so on, his dependence on philosophy is beyond doubt.<sup>26</sup> In conclusion, all the systematizers made use of some philosophy or other; a metaphysics, then, is essential to any theology.<sup>27</sup>

Now only the Indo-Europeans, or, to be more specific, only the Greeks and the Aryans succeeded in creating a metaphysics,<sup>28</sup> and as for the Semites,

they did not have the penchant for philosophizing, and never created a metaphysics. Indian thought never had any impact on Christian theology,<sup>29</sup> and it is Greek metaphysics that has ultimately contributed to the rise of all the theological systems (ancient and modern, Catholic and non-Catholic) of Christendom.

### III. Theologizing in the Oriental Churches

The people of Israel who have given the OT to mankind, never evolved a metaphysics, for the simple reason that they did not possess the philosophical bent of mind.<sup>30</sup> The Syrians came into close contact with the Greeks and their intellectual tradition, and they not only enthusiastically studied Greek philosophy but also produced some sort of eclectic philosophy which lacked both depth

23. O. E. Straser–O. Weber, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, I, cols. 1588–99. His great synthesis *Instituta religionis christianae* (1st ed., 1936; definitive ed., 1559) is remarkable for its scientific rigour.
24. Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, 3 vols., Chicago, 1951–63.
25. Barth, *Die kirchliche Dogmatik*, 1932ff.; English translation, edited by G. W. Bromiley–T. F. Torrence, *Church Dogmatics*. 1936ff. (4 vols., in 12 parts).
26. Barth goes to the extent of saying that *analogia entis* is an invention of the antichrist, and for this reason alone one can never become a Catholic. For a critique, cf. F. Gaboriau, *Nouvelle initiation philosophique. III Phénoménologie de l'existence. Gravitations II* (Tournay, 1963) pp. 448–52 (Barth and analogy).
27. The latest development in Christian theology, liberation theology, is of Marxist inspiration, and the theology of hope has its moorings in Marxism as interpreted by Ernst Bloch.
28. The Chinese have their philosophy, which does not come up here for consideration; details in D. H. Bishop (ed.), *Chinese Thought. An Introduction*, Delhi, 1985. Short account in W.–T. Chan, *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (8 vols., repr., New York, 1972) I, pp. 87–96.
29. Gnosticism was influenced by Indian thought; cf. E. Benz, *Indische Einflüsse auf die frühchristliche Theologie*. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse der Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur zu Mainz, 2/3, Mainz, 1951.
30. There have in recent times been eminent Jewish thinkers, who have, however, been continuing the tradition of western philosophy.



and originality.<sup>31</sup> After their conversion to the Christian faith they never engaged in philosophical activity. True, the great christological controversies that were raging in the East had to do with the philosophical/theological understanding of the Christian faith, and though the writings of the great minds embody original insights, there is not in them an all-round system of theology.<sup>32</sup>

Reference must here be made to the phenomenon of Syriac Aristotelianism,<sup>33</sup> which proved to be of short duration and had practically no impact on theology. When the Byzantine emperor Justinian, in 529, closed down the schools of philosophy in Athens,<sup>34</sup> the professional philo-

sophers migrated to Syria, where they were cordially welcomed, but in 633-40 the Muslims conquered Syria and Mesopotamia and there now ensued the age of Arab Aristotelianism.<sup>35</sup> It is a well-known fact of history that the medieval theologians derived their knowledge of Aristotle's philosophy from Arab sources, and mention has already been made of the synthesis St. Thomas Aquinas created with the help of Aristotelian philosophy. No such development, however, occurred among the Syriac- and Arabic speaking Christians, and we may note here in passing that neither the Ethiopians<sup>36</sup> nor the Copts<sup>37</sup> succeeded in evolving a systematic theology. To sum up, the Christians of Hamito-Semitic ex-

31. Compare F. Cumont, *The Cambridge Ancient History*. XI. *The Imperial Peace* A. D. 70-192 (repr., Cambridge, 1980) pp. 613-48 (where Syrian culture is described). Cumont notes: The close mixture of Semitic and Greek blood produced minds eager to know and conspicuously gifted for philosophical speculation" (*ibid.*, p. 641). The foremost Syrian Christian philosopher was Bardesanes, the celebrated Gnostic who was refuted by St. Ephraim; cf. H. H. Schaeder, "Bardesanes von Edessa in der Ueberlieferung der griechischen und syrischen Kirche," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 51 (1932) pp. 21-74. cf. too F. C. Burkitt, *The Cambridge Ancient History*. XII. *Imperial Crisis and Recovery* A. D. 193-514 (repr., Cambridge, 1981) pp. 492-504 (Syriac-speaking Christianity).
32. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*. Repr., Berlin, 1968. C. Brockelmann. *Geschichte der christlichen Literaturen des Orients* (repr., Berlin, 1973) pp. 1-74. A. Baumstark-A. Rucker *Semitistik* (Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Abteilung, III. Band, repr., Leiden, 1964) pp. 168-207. J.-B. Chabot, *Littérature syriaque*, Paris, 1934. R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque. Des origines jusqu'à la fin de cette littérature après la conquête par les Arabes au XIIIe siècle*. Anciennes littératures chrétiennes 2, 3rd ed., Paris, 1907 (repr., 1970).
33. A very old work dealing with Syrian Aristotelianism is E. Renan, *De philosophia peripatetica apud Syros*, Paris 1852.
34. C. Diehl, *The Cambridge Medieval History*. II. *The Foundation of the Western Empire* (repr., Cambridge, 1980) pp. 25-52 (Justinian)
35. On Arab philosophy, cf. B. Carra de Vaux, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (6 vols., repr. of the list ed., Leiden, 1987) II, pp. 48-52.
36. E. Littmann, *Die christlichen Literaturen des Orients*, pp. 184-270. Id., *Philosophi abesseni*. 2 vols., Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 18-19, Louvain, 1904 (two thin volumes, containing Ethiopic text and translation).
37. J. Leipoldt, *Die christlichen Literaturen des Orients*, pp. 131-83. S. Morenz, *Aegyptologie. Literatur* (Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Abteilung, I Band, 2. Lieferung, repr., Leiden, 1970) pp. 238-70.



traction, who had no philosophical mind, never succeeded in producing a synthesis.

There are two communities of Oriental Christians who are not Semites, namely the Armenians and the Georgians. The former are Indo-Europeans who migrated into the area that once formed the country of Urartu,<sup>38</sup> and who had a quite eventful history which need not be recounted here. After their conversion to the Christian faith, they at first followed the traditions of the Syrian

Church, but later on they allied themselves with the Byzantines, and the historical vicissitudes affecting the Armenians were such that they were not able to do creative work in the field of speculation;<sup>39</sup> this remark is true with regard to the Georgians as well.<sup>40</sup>

We come finally to the Byzantines and the Russians, the representatives of the oriental tradition of Christianity in Europe. The Byzantines who were heirs to the intellectual heritage of the Greeks, had their own philosophy and theology<sup>41</sup>, a theology

38. This name figures in the OT as Ararat; cf. Luke, "Ararat," *The Living Word* 87 (1981) pp. 11-33. Id., "The Armenian Version of the Bible Bhashyam 13 (1987) pp. 57-72 (language, history, etc.)
39. F. N. Fink, *Die christlichen Literaturen des Orients*, pp. 75-130. V. Inglesian, *Armenisch und kaukasische Sprachen* (Handbuch der Orientalistik. I abteilung, VII. Band, Leiden, 1963) pp. 156-250. A. Sarkissian, *A Brief Introduction to Armenian Christian Literature*, 2nd ed., Bergenfield, 1974. There have been philosophers and theologians among the Armenians, from among whom we wish to single out Eznik of Kolb (first half of the fifth century), a scholar of the golden age of Armenian literature, who had studied at Edessa and Byzantium; his book against heretics (also called *De Deo*) is justly famous; critical edition, L. Mariès - C. Mercier, *Eznik de Kolb. De Deo*. *Patrologia orientalis* 28/3-4 Paris, 1959 (text, version, introduction and bibliography).
40. G. Deeters, *Armenisch und kaukasische Sprachen*, pp. 129-55. M. Tarchnischvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*. *Studi e Testi* 185, Vatican City, 1955.
41. For a first introduction, cf. G. A. Maloney, *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* II, pp. 1014-30 (Byzantine theology). There are numerous works on Byzantinistics, a couple of which are listed here. H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich*. *Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte* I/D/1, Göttingen, 1971. Id., *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*. *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft XII - Byzantinisches Handbuch* 2/1, Munich, 1959 (2nd ed., 1977). J. M. Hussey (ed.) *The Cambridge Medieval History*, IV/1-2. *The Byzantine Empire*. Rev. ed., 1978-79 (part 2 deals with church and civilization). Id., *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*. Oxford, 1986. An earlier work by Madame Hussey is *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire*. London, 1937. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zur Ende des oströmischen Reiches*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., Munich, 1897 (repr., 1970; most basic). The following are works of synthesis. J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology. Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, New York, 1974. G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz*. *Byzantinisches Archiv* 15, Munich, 1977. P. N. Trembelas *Dogmatique de l'Eglise orthodoxe catholique*, 3 vols., Bruges, 1966 (Originally published in Greek, Athens, 1959-61, and translated by Pierre Dumont. The author, it is important to note, is a layman).



that was predominantly patristic, i.e. relying heavily on the writings of the Greek Fathers,<sup>42</sup> but with the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453,<sup>43</sup> everything came to an abrupt end, and Russia now emerged as the third Rome.<sup>44</sup>

#### IV. The Russian Contribution

In 988 (i. e. just 1000 years ago) Vladimir, the prince of Kiev, received

baptism, and Russia thus became one of the latest comers into the Christian fold in the West. The Russian Church turned to Constantinople for guidance, took over the Byzantine tradition of the Christian faith, adopted Russian as the language of the liturgy, and Kiev became the centre of Russian Christianity.<sup>45</sup> Moscow is mentioned for the first time in documents dating from 1147, and it became a principality in 1263, ever after which it

42. Fr. Florovsky, a foremost Orthodox theologian of modern times, writes: "Im ganzen scheint die orth. Th. in einer Uebergangsperiode zu stehen; sie sucht ihre eigene methode und ihren Still. Die Zeit der westlichen Ausrichtung scheint ihrem Ende zuzustreben nächste Schritt dürfte eine Rückkehr zu den patristischen Grundlagen; man könnte das Ziel 'Neopatristischer Synthese' bezeichnen" (*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* V, col. 781)

43. F. Taeschner, *The Cambridge Medieval History* IV/2, pp. 773-75.

44. For the historical background, cf. I Neander, *Grundzüge der russischen Geschichte*. Grundzüge 17-18, 3rd ed., Darmstadt, 1987. H. Von Rimscha, *Geschichte Russlands*, 6th ed., Darmstadt, 1983. For the literary background, cf. W. Lettenbauer, *Russische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., Wiesbaden, 1958. A Stender-Petersen, *Geschichte der russischen Literatur*, 4th ed., Darmstadt, 1986. For matters linguistic and philological, cf. H. Bräuer, *Slavischen Sprachwissenschaft*. 2 vols., Sammlung Götschen 1191-92, Berlin 1961-69. R. G. A. de Bray, *Guide to the Slavonic Languages*. Repr., London, 1963. P. Diels, *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik*. 2 vols., Sammlung slavischer Lehr- und Handbücher. I. Reihe: Grammatiken 6. 2nd ed., Heidelberg, 1963. W. F. Entwistle - W. A. Morrison, *Russian and the Slavonic Languages*. The Great Languages. London, 1965. A Leskien, *Handbuch der altpolgarischen Sprache*. Indogermanische Bibliothek. I. Reihe Lehr- und Handbücher. 8th ed., Heidelberg. 1962 (pp. 353-55: bibliography). H. C. Lunt, *Old Church Slavonic Grammar*. Slavistische drucken 3. 5th ed., The Hague, 1968. L. Sadnik-R. Aizetmüller, *Handwörterbuch zu den altkirchenslavischen Texten*, Wiesbaden, 1955. For the philosophical tradition, cf. F. Coppleston, *Philosophy in Russia*, Kent-1987. J. M. Eddie et alii (eds.), *Russian Philosophy*, 3 vols.. 2nd pritt., Konxville, 1969 (most valuable anthology), G. L. Kline, "Russian philosophy," *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* VII, pp. 258-88. L. Müller, "Russische Religionsphilosophie", *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* V, cols. 1224-29. N. O. Lossky, *History of Russian Philosophy*, New York, 1951. A. Walicki, *History of Russian Philosophy from the Enlightenment to Marxism*, Oxford, 1984. V. V. Zenkovsky, *A History of Russian Philosophy*, 2 vols., New York, 1953 (translated from the Russian by G. L. Kline). Two books that serve as background reading must also be mentioned here. G. P. Feodotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, Cambridge, 1946. Id., *A Treasury of Russian Spirituality*, London, 1950.

45. C. Hannik, "Das Russisch-Orthodoxe Christentum und der Einfluss von Byzanz bis zum Tatarensturm", *Das heilige Russland*, pp. 15-23. The details that follow are borrowed from the synoptic table of Russian and European history, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-69.



steadily grew importance, until finally, in 1439, it became the centre and bastion of Orthodox Christianity. Already in 1325 the Metropolitan's residence was transferred to Moscow, and in 1589 there was established the patriarchate of Moscow, thus making the Russian Church autocephalous<sup>46</sup> and also independent of Constantinople.

The Russians became convinced that Moscow was the centre of Christendom, as may be seen from the following extract from an encyclical written in 1524 by Filofei (1453–1528), the Staretz<sup>47</sup> and Abbot of the monastery of St. Eleazar in Pleskov (also Psekov):<sup>48</sup>

... the Greek empire has been destroyed, and has not been restored ... because they betrayed the Orthodox Greek faith to the Latins... I would like now to say a few words about the present Orthodox kingdom of our inde-

pendent, elevated Tzar, who, on this whole earth, is the only emperor of the Christian peoples, and the custodian of the hallowed, sacred altars of the holy, catholic, apostolic Church, which, taking now the place of Rome and Constantinople, is established in Moscow, the city blessed by God, and which, alone, sheds its lustre in the whole world ... Two Romes have fallen, but the third stands, and a fourth there will never arise.

The conviction that the Russian Church is destined by God to give the lead to all the Churches has ever remained a distinctive feature of Russian theology.

The word for theology in Russian is *bogoslovie*, where the element *bogo-* is a modification of *bog*, "God"<sup>49</sup> (compare *bogo-materj*, "the mother of God," and *bogo-roditza*, "theotokos"), and *slovie* is a derivative of *slovo*,

46 The term cited in the text is part of the technical vocabulary of Orthodox Ecclesiology, and affirms, on the one hand, that a particular local (filial) Church, once it has sufficiently grown, becomes independent of the mother (founding) Church, and on the other, that the Church particular / universal has only one head, Christ: no human being can claim to be the head of the Church! The doctrine of autocephaleity is just the opposite of the one of papal primacy.

47 Filofei is the Russian form of Greek Philotheos; the read should know that Russian does not have *th*, its place being taken by *f* (*ph*); compare Athens = Afiny, Theodore = Fyodor, etc. As for Staretz, it is the usual designation of the monk "venerable revered old man;" compare *starik* "old man," *starina*, "the past, antiquity," and *stareťj*, "to become old." The words are all etymologically related to Sanskrit *sthira* - : cf. M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches wörterbuch* (3 vols., Indogermanische Bibliothek, II. Reihe Wörterbücher, Heidelberg, 1973) III, p. 5. Cf. too H. Bielfeldt., *Russisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR. Zentralinstitut für Sprachwissenschaft, 14th ed., Berlin, 1982) pp. 941 f.

48 N. Thon, "Die Geschichte der Russischen Kirche von der Zeit des Mongolensturms bis zum Kapf un die Reformen," *Das heilige Russland*, pp.123–33 (p. 129).

49. The term is related to avestan *bagha-* (Old Persian *baga-*), "God", and Sanskrit *bhaga-*, "distributor, one who gives a share;" cf. Vasmer, *op. cit.* I, p. 98. For the different combinations, cf. Bielfeldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 37f.



“logos, word.”<sup>50</sup> The Greek loanword *ortodoxaljny* is used by the Russians, who, however, prefer their own native term *pravoslavny*, consisting of *pravy*, “right, proper,”<sup>51</sup> and *slavny*, from *slava*, “fame,” and also “view, opinion, generally held view;”<sup>52</sup> there is too the noun form *pravoslavia*, “Orthodoxy, the orthodox faith, confession of faith” (namely, of the Orthodox Church). The two terms we have analysed occur as titles of theological manuals (cf. below).

Theological seminaries (called academies) came to be founded in the various centres in Russia. The Academy of Kiev was established in 1631, the Slavonic-Greek-Latin School of Moscow in 1685, the Slavic School of St. Petersburg in 1721, the Alexander Nevesky Academy in 1797, and the Ecclesiastical Academy of Kazan in 1842. At first the study of theology meant the handing down of the theological positions inherited from the Byzantines and embodied in the confessions of faith,<sup>54</sup> and even when the scholastic method and the Latin language were being used in the seminaries, care was taken not to deviate from the Byzantine tradition. The attitude towards the Roman or Latin theological tradition was wholly

negative, and the Russian theologians were not only hostile to the Reformation but even went to the extent of not counting the Protestants as Christians!<sup>55</sup> Under Peter I, surnamed the Great (1682–1725), who was bent upon westernizing Russia, there took place a change of attitude towards the West, and as result western theology won acceptance in the Russian seminaries.

Soon after the opening towards the West, there emerged a new current of thought which was spearheaded by the Slavophiles and was avowedly hostile to the traditions of Christianity as represented by both Catholicism and Protestantism, but they were not wholly consistent, for they accepted German idealistic philosophy and utilized it to elucidate the Christian faith.

In the first half of the last century the Slavophil school<sup>56</sup> was headed by the philosopher Ivan Vasilievitch Kireyevsky (1806–56), the two brothers Konstantin Aksakov (1817–60), a Hegelian and a sociologist, and Ivan Aksakov (1823–86), a journalist, and the lay theologian Alexey Steppanovitch Khomyakov (1804–60), who is now regarded by the Orthodox

50. Congnate with Greek *kleos*, “fame” Sanskrit *śraves* –, “hearing, fame,” etc. (Bielfeldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 900f. Vasmer, *op. cit.* II, p. 424).
51. The word is cognate with *slovo* (Bielfeldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 895f. Vasmer, *op. cit.* II, p. 656).
52. R. Zhuzhek, *La transfiguration escatologique du monde visible en la théologie russe. Etude de la doctrine courante entre 1836 y 1917* (Orientalia Analecta Christiana 209, Rome, 1980) p. XVI.
54. K. Onasch, *Einführung in die Konfessionskunde der orthodoxen Kirche*. Sammlung Goschen 1197, Berlin, 1962.
55. L. Weißenrieder, *Grosse Russische Theologen*, *Das heilige Russland* pp. 63–93 (p. 63).
56. On the Slavophilism, cf. P. K. Christoff, *An Introduction to the Nineteenth-Century Slavophilism. A study in Ideas*. I. A. S. Xomjakov The Hague, 1961. A. S. Gratioux, *Khomiakov et le mouvement slavophile*, 2 vols., Paris, 1939. Cf. too P. Baron, *Un théologien laïc orthodoxe russe au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Orientalia Analecta Christiana 127, Rome, 1940. N. Zernov, *Three Russian Prophets: Khomyakov, Dostoevsky and Soloviev*, New York, 1944.



as the greatest Russian theologian, and also as one of the Fathers of the Russian Church.<sup>57</sup> It must be confessed that the foremost Russian theologians were as a rule Slavophiles, in the sense that they were convinced that the Russian Orthodox Church had a universal mission, and was alone in possession of the true faith.

Khomyakov was profoundly influenced by the romantic and idealistic traditions of German philosophy, and in Russia itself he found the true faith among the masses and not among the upper classes.<sup>58</sup> The original contribution of his to theology is the doctrine of *sobornostj*,<sup>59</sup> i. e. the pneumatic principle of unity in diversity (plurality) in the Orthodox Church which alone represents the harmonious fusion of unity and freedom, and which stands distinct from the Church of the West: Catholicism embodies unity without liberty, and Protestantism liberty without unity, whereas Orthodoxy admirably safeguards both these elements.

The substantive *sobornostj* has its prehistory which must be briefly

recalled here. In the Old Slavonic version of the Nicean Creed the phrase *hē katholikē ekklēsia* is rendered *sobornaya tzerkovj*, and though occasionally the Greek term *katholikē* is used in the Old Slavonic documents, gradually it was replaced by *sobornaya*, "universal;" compare the phrases *soborny rasum*, "common understanding," and *sobornaya molitva*, "common prayer," and the noun form *sobor* which renders Greek *sunagogē*, "synagogue." The verbal base is *sobjрати*, "to come together, assemble,"<sup>60</sup> compounded of *so-*, the preposition "with," and the verbal stem *bjрати*, "to come together;"<sup>61</sup> compare *iz-bjрати*, "to expound, choose."

Orthodox ecclesiologists lay stress on Mt 18:20, making it the very basis of their conception of the Church. As the assembly of believers, the Church is united with Christ and shares in the fulness of his work of redemption; in the Church, according to Khomyakov, there is no distinction between the teaching (governing) and taught (governed) groups, and the validity of the decisions of synods is dependent on their acceptance by the believers

57. Weichenrieder, *op. cit.*, pp. 93f.

58. He argued for the abolition of serfdom, and was also highly critical of the Russian Orthodox Church. His critique of Catholicism is at times vitriolic

59. This is a highly complex theologoumenon, to which justice cannot be done in this popular article, and Catholics are bound to ask whether it can be reconciled with the doctrine of papal primacy. On the problem, cf. G. Dejaifve, "Sobornost' ou papauté?" *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 84 (1952) pp. 355-77, 466-84 Schultze, *Russische Denker. Ihre Stellung zu Christus, Kirche und Papsttum*, Vienna 1950. For a critique of Khomyakov's concept, cf. N. Berdyev, in Edie et alli, *Russian Philosophy* III, pp. 174f. cf. too *ibid.*, pp. 181 f.

60. The verb is well attested in Old Slavonic texts; cf. Leskien, *Handbuch der albulgarischen Sprache*, pp. 270, 335.

61. From Indo-European *som-*, surviving in sanskrit *sam-*, Avestam *ham-*, Greek *homos* / *homu*, Latin *simul similis* etc. (Vasmer, *op. cit.* II, p. 564).

62. Ultimately a derivative of the common Indo-European base *bher-*, "to bear, carry," occurring in Greek *pherō*, Latin *ferō*, Sanskrit *bharāmi* etc. Full list of correspondences, cf. J. Pokorny *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (2 vols., Bern 1959) I pp. 128-32 (for the Slavonic forms, cf. p. 131).



who are guided by the Holy Spirit.<sup>63</sup> The doctrine of *sobornostj* visualizes the Church as a *koinonia*, sharing fully in the Saviour's redemptive work, and held together in love by the Spirit.

Khomyakov never published any manuals of theology, but there were others who wrote textbooks which came to be translated into Greek by the Greeks and used in their seminaries.<sup>64</sup> A well-known manualist is A. Amfiteatrov, *Dogmaticheskoe bogoslovie Pravoslavnoy Kafolicheskoy Vostochnoy Tzervi, s prisovokupleniem obshchago vvedniya v kurs bogosloksikh nauk*, Kiev, 1848 ("Dogmatic Theology of the Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church, with an Added General Introduction to the Course on the Science of Theology"). The greatest manualist of the last century was M. Bulgakov,<sup>65</sup> a quite productive writer: *Vvedenie v pravoslavnoe dogmaticheskoe bogoslovie*, St. Petersburg, 1847; 7th ed., *ibid.*,

1903 ("Introduction to Orthodox Dogmatic Theology"); *Pravoslavno-dogmaticheskoe bogoslovie*. 5 vols., St. Petersburg, 1849–53 ("Orthodox-Dogmatic Theology"); *Rukovodstvo k izucheniyu pravoslavno-dogmaticheskogo bogosloviya*. 2 vols., St. Peterburg, 1868 ("Initiation into the Teaching of Orthodox-Dogmatic Theology"). There have been other writers of manuals as well, who need not all be listed here.

A layman who was a professional philosopher, and who made original contributions to theology, is Vladimir Sergeievitch Soloviev (1853–1900).<sup>66</sup> After being an atheist for a time, he came back to the faith via Spinoza and Schopenhauer,<sup>67</sup> and his idea of *vsejedinstvo*, "all-oneness, total unity, unitotality,"<sup>68</sup> was inspired by Hegel, an idea which is apparently monistic, and which has made historians to

63. Even when the leaders of the Orthodox Churches were in favour of a reunion with Rome (at the time of the councils of Lyons and Florence), the faithful at large opposed the move, and when the union was effected, they rejected it. This, according to Khomyakov and others, shows that the pure faith is upheld by the masses even when the authorities deviated from it.
64. They have been translated into western languages as well.
65. Mikhail Petrovitch Bulgakov (1816–82) took the monastic name Makary, and was appointed, after a distinguished career, Metropolitan of Moscow in 1879.
66. H. U. von Balthasar, *The Glory of the Lord. A Theological Aesthetics*, III. *Studies in Theological Styles: Lay Styles* (Edinburg, 1986) pp. 279–352. Coppleston, *Philosophy in Russia*, pp. 201–40. Edie et alii, *op. cit.*, pp 54–134 (bibliography on p. 61). E. Munzer, *Solovyev, Prophet of Russian Western Unity*, London, 1956. J. Rupp, *Message ecclésial de Soloviev. Présage et illustration de Vatican II*, Paris, 1975. K. V. Truhlar, *Theilhard et Solowjew Dichtung und religiöse Erfahrung*, Freiburg, 1968.
67. A man of wide interests, Soloviev had acquired a good knowledge of the philosophies of the Upanishads and the Buddhists.
68. The first element in the technical term is a variant of *vesj* (mas.), "all" (fe. *vsya*, neut. *vsyo*), which is etymologically related to Sanskrit *viśvas-*, "all, whole" (Vasmer, *op. cit.* I, pp. 192f.), and which frequently occurs in combination: *vsevedenie*, "all-comprehensive knowledge," *vsevidyashchy*, "all-seeing," *vsevolastie*, "omnipotence," etc. The second half is actually a formation from *yedinj* (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 255), whose etymology is too complicated to be discussed here; cf. Russian *edinstvo*, "unity unicity," *edinenie*, "union," *edinista*, "one," and so on.



brand his thought as pantheistic.<sup>69</sup> The Absolute Being who is one in himself, has given rise to multiplicity, and has also initiated a process of reintegration, whose centre is the Logos; the Incarnation integrates man's history with God, and the basic thing in Soloviev's understanding of this mystery is *bogochelovechestvo*, "godmanhood,"<sup>70</sup> a theme that he developed in his *Chteniia o bogochelovechestvo* (1880), "Lectures on Godmanhood."<sup>71</sup> The concept of godmanhood has been elaborated further by a philosopher who embraced the priesthood and then worked as professor of theology at the Institute of St. Sergius (the theological seminary of the Russians in exile) in Paris, namely, Sergey Nikolaievitch Bulgakov (1871-1944).<sup>72</sup>

While in Paris, Bulgakov published a minor and major trilogy;<sup>73</sup> the former consists of *Kupina nepalimaya*, 1927 ("The Burning Bush"),<sup>74</sup> *Drug zhenikha*, 1927 ("The Friend of the Bridegroom"), and *Letitza Yakovliya*,

1927 ("the Ladder of Jacob"), and the latter, of *Agnetz Bozhy. O bogochelovechestve*. Chastj I, 1933 ("The Lamb of God. Concerning Godmanhood. Part I), *Uteshitelj. O bogochelovechestve*. Chastj II, 1936 ("The Paraclete..."), and *Nevesta Agntza. O bogochelovechestve*. Chastj III, 1944 ("The Bride of the Lamb..."). There is not the least exaggeration in saying that Bulgakov has been the greatest and the most original of the theologians of the present century.

In his ecclesiology, Bulgakov very closely follows Khomyakov,<sup>75</sup> and in his three-volume work on *bogochelovechestvo* he is dependent on Soloviev; he has his own christology whose core is a special understanding of kenosis, but since this is a point that cannot be discussed in a couple of sentences, we leave it out of consideration.<sup>76</sup> A unique feature of Bulgakov's theology is *sofynostj*, "sophianity, sophiology," i. e. the doctrine of sophia, which too has been inspired by the

- 69 "Solovyov has succeeded in achieving total-unity through Godmanhood. This is, however, at the expense of traditional Christian dogma... The system cannot escape pantheism" (Edie et alii, *op. cit.*, p.60).
70. The first part of the technical term, *bogo-*, should not cause any difficulty, and the second is abstract noun formed from *chelovek*, "man," whose cognates include Sanskrit *kulam*, "family, race," Greek *telos*, "tribe, clan," Old Irish *clan*, *cland*, "progeny," etc. (Vasmer, *op. cit.* III, pp. 312f.).
71. Extensive extracts in Edie et alii, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-84.
72. Mondin, *I grandi teologi del secolo ventesimo* II, pp. 291-314. J. p. Scanlan, *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* I, pp. 421-23.
73. We consider here only the theological writings of Bulgakov (who has also published works on economics and philosophy); for a selection, cf. N. Zernov-J. Pain *A Bulgakov Anthology*, Philadelphia, 1976.
74. This work, dealing with the Blessed Virgin, has the subtitle *O put dogmaticheskogo istolkovaniya ekotorikh chert v pravoslavnom pochitany Bogomater*. ("Ways of the Dogmatic Interpretation Clarifying the Orthodox Veneration of *Bogomaterj*, the Mother of God").
75. S. Swierkosz, *L'eglise visible selon Serge Bulgakov. Structure hiérarchique et Sacramentelle* (Orientalia Analecta Christiana 211, Rome, 1980) pp. 111-37 (the author lists the various works of Bulgakov in the bibliography).
76. P. Evdokimov, *Le Christ dans la pensée russe*. Théologie sans frontières 10, Paris, 1970. N. Gorodotzky, *The Humiliated Christ in Modern Russian Thought*, London, 1938. V. Henry, "Kènose," *Dictionnaire de la Bible Supplement*



thought of Soloviev,<sup>77</sup> who, it should be recalled here, had thrice the vision of sophia,<sup>78</sup> and who regarded sophia as a personal being; what is most surprising, he even composed poems in honour of this female entity which have a gnostic and erotic tinge.<sup>79</sup>

Religious-minded Russian thinkers have on the whole been engaging in sophia-speculations, and when we speak of sophiology, we have in mind the same theme as developed by Soloviev and others.<sup>80</sup> The main thing in sophiology is the primordial realization that the created world is a disclosure of divine wisdom a way of looking creation that links together most closely theology and philosophy, religion and life; it involves an optimistic outlook on the world, and has its bearing on cosmology (the world

as an organic whole), anthropology (the unity of mankind in the matter of origin and destiny), and the relationship between God and man/creation (sophia as the principle of pan-unity, also godmanhood). In Bulgakov's early thought sophia had the character of only of a hypostasis, i. e. it was the personification of the principle of oneness in the created universe, but later on he posited sophia in God, as something distinct from the created sophia. Critics have accused him of admitting in God a fourth principle in addition to the persons of the Trinity.<sup>81</sup>

The Holy See has recently issued a decree, making it obligatory on Latin rite seminaries to have regular courses given to their students on oriental theology, liturgy and spiri-

---

(Paris, 1928ff.) V, cols. 7-158 (bibliography, cols. 158-61). The author approaches the problem from the Thomistic point of view, exposes Bulgakov's views (cols. 144-54), and singles out its weak points (cols. 154-56). We wish to note here that Dostoevsky's novel *The Idiot* develops the theme of the humiliated Christ.

77. Bulgakov, *The Wisdom of God. A Brief Summary of Sophiology*, New York, 1937.
78. As a boy of nine, during the liturgy in the chapel of the University of Moscow, he had his first vision of Sophia (1862); the second took place while he was in London (1875), and, on orders from Sophia, he betook himself to Egypt, where, in the desert at dawn, he had the third and last vision (1876). Balthasar, *op. cit.*, p. 292, feels that these visions may very well have been the apparitions of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
79. The poem is entitled *Tri Svidaniya* (1898), "The Three Encounters;" cf. Balthasar, *op. cit.*, p. 292, h. 1 (p. 293).
80. For example, Fr. Pavel Alexandrovitch Florensky (who was asked by the Soviet Government to renounce his priesthood, and, on refusing to obey, was deported to Siberia, where he died); cf. Scanlan, *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* III, pp. 205f.
81. It is to be readily admitted that there are elements in Bulgakov's theology which cannot easily be reconciled with the Christian/Orthodox faith, and that is the reason why the patriarch of Moscow condemned some of his theses.



# A Conference of the Oriental Catholic Churches

## An urgent issue

An institution which could be useful also to the international Orthodox-Catholic Theological Commission, would certainly be the foundation of a Conference of the Oriental Catholic Churches.

Such a conference has never existed before. The isolation has not favoured the Oriental Catholics so far. Therefore they remained somehow behind the development. Since the whole world is trying to organize itself on the national level as well as on the international one, at a time where there are so many bishops' assemblies in the different countries and continents, we believe that it would be good, if the Oriental Catholic Churches organized themselves in a Conference.

This Conference would be useful in the first line for the theological dialogue between the eastern Churches and Rome and could also offer their assistance to the Orthodox-Catholic Theological Commission. It would avoid the risk that two "blocks" be formed between which the "Uniates" would be the bone of contention. The Oriental Catholic Churches must not fall into the painful situation of the countries of Eastern Europe which have become trade objects between the big powers by the treaties of Teheran and Yalta. The Oriental Catholics have their dignity and liberty. By their spiritual resistance throughout the centuries to the invitation of going over to the Latin rite and by the sufferings they have endured during the last decades as a consequence of the "invitation of returning to Orthodoxy", they have proved their fidelity to their Oriental rite as well as to St. Peter's Roman successor which implies faithfulness to the Unity of Christ's Church.

A Conference of the Oriental Catholic Churches would emphasize the universal character of the Catholic Church.

The initiative of organizing a Conference of the Oriental Catholic Churches would certainly be a gift of the Holy Father. This is why the regards and hopes of the Oriental Catholics should be turned to Rome.

Octavian Barlea

---

tuality. The document explicitly states that the heritage of the Oriental Churches is especially evident in the doctrines of the Divine Trinity, Christology, Pneumatology, Grace, the relation between grace and supernature, the procession of the Holy Spirit, the eucharistic nature of the Church, and the Mystery celebrated in the liturgy. The present writer was asked by Latin rite friends to indicate some convenient manuals of

oriental theology, liturgy and spirituality, but he has had to say that such books have not been published by Oriental scholars in India. He would also like to add that the stuff that is being published under the label oriental theology and liturgy is substandard, and is therefore unfit to give non-orientals an idea of the originality, richness and depth of the oriental heritage.

K. Luke



# PROSELYTISM - a term to be reconsidered

The famous term *Proselytism* was not at all absent also at Bari during the plenary session of the Orthodox-Catholic Theological Commission. We had expected to find it in all the reports regarding this session. In fact, the word was present in almost each meeting of the commission. Alike in previous reunions, it was from the part of the Orthodox also here, that it was used first. "Further, the Orthodox members of the commission energetically suggested to discuss next the issue of proselytism and that of Churches united with Rome", says Nikolaus Thon in his report (*Der christliche Osten* 1986, p. 228). In face of the accusation of proselytism addressed to the Roman Catholics, the Catholic theologians gave an answer mentioning therein also certain cases of proselytism with the Orthodox (cf. E. F. Fortino, in *L'Ossevatore Romano* of June 15, 1986, p. 5).

## Between struggle, Armistice, and Peace

The accusations of proselytism in regard to the Roman Catholic Church are rather old. The Russians used them in their offensive aiming at the destruction of the united Oriental Churches in Ukraine and Byelorussia at the time of czar Nicholas I (1827-1839), and, more recently, under Stalin (1946). Accusations of proselytism have also been raised by the Greek, at last because of the fact that an Eastern rite Greek bishop has been

residing in Athens since 1925 (who was transferred there from Constantinople-Istanbul). The same accusations have been learnt by the Romanians from the Greek in regard to the Uniates (Eastern Catholics) already in 1701, and they were vehemently emphasized by Metropolitan Nicolae Balan of Sibiu (after 1920) to reach their climax in the destruction of the Romanian (Eastern rite) Catholic Church in 1948.

Looking through the pages of church history, it becomes evident that *proselytism* was *inaugurated* already in the early Middle Ages by the *Church of Constantinople* attempting to introduce one sole rite, that of Byzantium-Constantinople, in the eastern provinces of the Byzantine empire as well as in the western ones. This trend reached its climax under patriarch Kerrularios of Constantinople in the 11th century and caused eventually the rupture between the Christian East and the Christian West in 1054.

*Proselytism* was then adopted by the Latin Church which professed the opinion that introducing the Latin rite everywhere would restore the church's pristine union. This tendency reached its summit at the Fourth Council of Lateran, although it did not succeed.

Since both the proselytisms, that of the East as well as that of the

---

\* The author Octavian Barlea is the Superior of the Romanian Catholic Mission (Byzantine rite) in Germany (Munich). He was the Apostolic Visitor of the Romanians in the United States prior to the erection of the Apostolic Exarchate (now Eparchy of St. George's in Canton, Ohio) there with a bishop of their own (tr. by J. Madey).



West, were unable to restore the unity of the Church the Council of Florence was convoked where the theologians of the East ("Greeks") and of the West ("Latins") were to find, on the basis of the equality of both the Latin and the Eastern (Byzantine) rites, a "balance" in respect to the four up to then disputed points: primacy, filioque, purgatory, and the bread to be used for the celebration of the Eucharist. Relying on their findings, the representatives of the east and of the west signed the *Union*.

The decision of Florence could not send out roots immediately, especially because of the fall of Constantinople (1453).

Then, it could also not develop because of the atmosphere caused by the 16th century Reformation in the West. Was the whole Reformation not an act of proselytism? The followers of the Reformation were in search of disciples. So they exercised proselytism first through words, then through arms (30 Years' War, 1618-1648) to attain at last the so-called "Westphalian Peace" (1648) constituting some kind of armistice. But the 30 years' war was continued even after the above-quoted armistice, through mostly limited to words - and sometimes not only to words - through capillary actions until ecumenism appeared on the scene.

After a relative peace in the West, at last the instruction of the Council of Florence could begin to be realized on the soil of the Byzantine rite as well as in the regions of other oriental rites. The movement of union in the spirit of the Council of Florence which had originated in Rome, was supported, in the West, by Poland, Austria and, to a certain extent, Venice, i. e. those Western States ruling over territories with

eastern rite population. So the Union was accepted by the Ukrainians - Byelorussians (1595), then by the Uskoks in Croatia (1611), by the Romanians of Transsylvania (1697-1701), etc. But soon after these events, an offensive was started from the East against this movement of union by the Russian expansionism to the West: wherever it proved possible, the union was destroyed in the name of that myth which attempted to make Moscow the 'third Rome'. So the eastern churches united with Rome became the cause and the field of battle between the first ('ancient') Rome and 'third Rome', i. e. Moscow. This struggle of Moscow and its allies against the eastern Catholics has been always accompanied by cries against western proselytism.

In the face of these facts, we are trying to draw some directives according to which it might be possible to discern what proselytism truly is and what it is not. Thereafter, using these directives, we could try to indicate who, and under which conditions, has used and is using proselytism.

### Between Missionarism and Proselytism

There is a description of proselytism, based on the Reformation, by Dr. Carillo de Albarnoz of Geneva in the encyclopedia *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (vol. V, p. 640). He writes: "In contrast to the terminology, proselytism means alone the attempt of persuading a member of a certain church to change his/her denomination, particularly with an unworthy motivation or by using reproachful means. The ecumenical and missionary problem of proselytism consists in the difficulty to distinguish proselytism from authentic bearing witness (martyria). Therefore the only possible evangelical attitude regarding

this problem is to acknowledge, besides the obligation of bearing Christian witness, also the obligation of Christian love and ecumenical communion." According to this principle, the author puts six rules in regard to proselytism:

(1) Each Christian church may not only, but must give witness in freedom and in public.

(2) Each church has the particular duty to point to each central doctrine which another church possibly has lost of its sight.

(3) No church should try to use the power of the State in order to suppress other churches or christian communities.

(4) In regions with already established churches, other christian communities, on principle, should not found concurrent missions "unless the witness of the existing churches is imperfect to such an extent that other churches feel themselves bound in conscience to bear their own witness."

(5) Each adult person has the right to change his/her church membership, not, however, because of material reasons or under pressure, and

(6) "Whenever there is some desiring of changing church membership the churches concerned should directly deal with this question".

Through these rules, certainly an attempt is made to balance ecumenism and the spirit of the Reformation, but they are not suitable to eliminate the roots of proselytism, since the principle of intervening with the "churches bearing imperfect witness" continues to be recognised and accepted. Thus the gate for any arbitrary action remains open. Because how large will be the number of those who will consider their neighbours as imperfect? Do not have all

the proselytisms their origin in the Reformation? Were not all the hundreds of sects born in this way which have inundated America and are searching their way also in Europe and elsewhere? Is this not the origin of all the calumny that comes so often from the mouth of the sectarians?

Subjective ideas in regard to the 'imperfect witness' of a neighbouring church do certainly not offer a solid basis to strengthen relations among churches without risking proselytism. Equally the accusations raised by the Orthodox against Catholics cannot be considered as rightful, because these accusations make evident that the Orthodox are considering their Church in its separation from Rome as perfect, and this is not to conform with the Gospel demanding the unity of the Church. Furthermore, have the Orthodox – in Russia, Romania, etc. – not used proselytizing methods in regard to the eastern Catholics: imprisonment, tortures and all the repressive means of their State? In order to escape this quarrel where the guilty claim to be the victims, we should try to establish some objective guidelines.

### What is the correct meaning of 'Proselytism'?

We should understand under this appellation an unworthy act:

(1) which does not show an ascending, but a descending movement,

(2) which does not contribute to the honour, strengthening and improvement of a community but tends to corrupt and absorb it into other religious bodies, and

(3) which is using dishonest mean – violence, fraud – to incorporate it into another community. In the light of these principles, we may say:



## I

(a) There is no proselytism when a person passes from paganism to the Christian faith, because we are here in face of a passing from a lower religiosity to a superior one. The one going over to christianity is responding to a call of ascending to a new life, to a spiritual rebirth in Christ. The ascent to God in a rightful way is not proselytism. The whole ancient pagan world has eventually raised to christianity. Consequently, we can speak here exclusively of *conversion*.

(b) *But we have to call proselytism the descent from christendom to atheism, i. e. to paganism or even sub-paganism.* Hence, guilty of having committed proselytism are, in the first instance, the communist parties in the different parts of the world, having the Soviet communist party at their top, which are imposing atheism on their members. Guilty are, however, also the pseudo-cultural and pseudo-religious organizations which equally are proclaiming atheism or are leading astray the people from the christian faith. In both these cases, we can only speak of *corruption*.

## II

(a) *We should also not consider as proselytism those efforts which have tended to restoring the unity of the Church of Christ through the union with the Church of Rome.* The union of the oriental churches with Rome must not be seen within the frame of proselytism, because it has its origin in the *vocation* to realize God's will "that all be one" (John 17:20-21). Its basis is the promise Christ made to the Apostle Peter. It has become a reality out of the will to implement the decisions of an ecumenical council, i. e. that of Florence (1439), in which Latin Catholics and Orthodox took part and decided to restore the com-

munion of both the Churches of the East and of the West. By overcoming the separation and restoring the union with the successor of St. Peter, First of the Apostles, the Oriental Catholic Churches succeeded in realizing an *ascent* on the scale of Christian values.

(b) *But the aggressions against the Oriental Catholic Churches must be considered as proselytism*, since these are directed against the will of Christ and are despising the Council of Florence. They are leading into separation. Consequently czarist Russia as well as communist Russia (or USSR) are to be accused of proselytism because of the measures they have taken to destroy the Ukrainian and the Byelorussian Catholic Churches (of the Byzantine rite). Guilty of proselytism is also the Romanian communist government because, following on Russia's paths, they have tried, by laws and persecutions, to destroy the Romanian (Byzantine rite) Catholic Church. Also other countries fell prey to proselytism, because they have tried to destroy the Oriental Catholic Churches. Here we have to do with a *decline*.

## III

(a) Taking into consideration the horizontal line or the communitarian aspect of religious life, *the Union with the Church of Rome cannot be proselytism as long as the faithful concerned, the 'Uniates', do not separate from their nation*, as long as they do not abandon their rite which is keeping them in communion with those who have not yet made their union: this means, as long as they are maintaining the genuine spirit of the Council of Florence. The function of the Oriental Catholics is to form an *avant-garde*, a *bridge* from the one shore to the other, a bridge-head for the conviction of the equality of rites in a world which has been dominated by the opinion of the Fourth Lateran

Council saying that there be but one genuine rite, the Roman one. According to their vocation, the Oriental Catholics are executing a fundamental function not only in the life of the Church, but also in the life of their respective nation: they are called to lead their nation out of a difficult situation, they are called to exercise a national activity of awakening and inciting the nation's abilities. In other words: they constitute, for their nation, an element of progress and spiritual enrichment. But although they are, according to their vocation, a spiritual elite, they must, according to their evangelical vocation, bend at the same time to "wash the feet" of their brethren who have remained one or two miles behind on the way toward Christian unity, and, at the banquet of Christian unity, they ought not to seek the first places.

(b) *We have to do with proselytism if the harmony of the Council of Florence is not observed*, namely (1) if, according to the opinion of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), Oriental Catholics and Orthodox are exhorted to change from the oriental to the Latin rite, (2) if someone goes over to protestantism, (3) if the oriental rite is mutilated by mixing it up with other devotions. These cause with the faithful a loss of balance. They should not be offered cultural forms which are not in harmony with their culture and which bring them, at the same time, into a greater distance to their brethren living on the other shore, that of non-union.

(c) *There is still another form of proselytism among the Orthodox themselves by replacing the frame of a national Church with that of a State Church.* One Orthodox nation can be dismembered by another Orthodox nation: Some territories of a State are separated and a part of the Orthodox Church of one nation will be incorporated into the Orthodox Church of the other nation which has a dominating position in the given State. We have an example of this kind of proselytism in the Soviet Union where the Romanian Orthodox Church of Bessarabia and the Northern Bucovina has been incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Patriarchate of Moscow after World War II.

Drawing a conclusion from what was said above we may say that the *Unions with Rome* of the Ukrainians, Croats, Slovaks, Romanians, Melkites, etc. which have been made in the spirit of the Council of Florence are *no proselytism*; they were done in freedom, by episcopal decisions or by synods presided over by bishops. Their aim has been the restoration of the integrity of the Lord's shirt not made by human hands. *Going over from the union to the Orthodox Church or protestantism, however, is proselytism*, for it is a decline on the scale of religious values like *going over from Orthodoxy to Protestantism*.

The actual mutual *accusations* of proselytism should therefore be replaced by accelerating the march of all towards *Christian unity*.



# A Church Coming of Age

## Pastoral Ministry in the Hungarian Greek-Catholic Church

*"Between the Individual Churches there is such a wonderful bond of unity that this variety within the Church in no way harms their unity, but rather manifests it; for it is the mind of the Church that the traditions of each individual Church or Rite shall remain whole and entire, and likewise she wishes that they should adapt their way of life to the changing needs of time and place."*

Vatican II, "Orientalium Ecclesiarum", No. 2

### Historical Retrospect

The Hungarian people which is of Finno-Ugrian descent, coming from the East of the Ural mountains, made its first acquaintance with the Church of Byzantium. Since the 6th century, the Hungarian tribes have lived in a surrounding influenced by the Byzantine mission, and on the northern shore of the Black Sea. It is known that some Hungarian dukes (barons) received the sacrament of Baptism at Byzantium being then still nomads. After the period of nomadic life, they settled down in the Pannonian Basin in 895 and mingled with the autochthons. These were already christianized thanks to the missions of Sts. Cyril and Methodius.

During the 10th century Byzantium sent its missions towards the country of the Hungarians situated on the northern borders of the Byzantine empire. The first bishop of the

Hungarians who presented himself, accompanied by a Hungarian duke recently baptized, was called Theophylaktos. This was a bishop of the Byzantine rite. Hence eastern rite Christendom was the first to spread among the Hungarians as well as among different colonies of eastern origin living in the Pannonian Basin.

After the Hungarian invasions, till the defeat of Augsburg in 955, Duke Geza attempted at stabilizing the new State. Sarolta, Geza's wife, St. Stephen's mother, was a faithful of the Byzantine Church. With King St. Stephen, the founder of the Hungarian State, the history of the Hungarian Church took a new turn. He recognized the socio-political necessities of his time and was a deeply convinced Christian. In 1000, he solicited the royal crown from Pope Sylvester and allowed the installation of Rome's mission. In spite of this change of the Hungarian Church in the field of politics, the Byzantine Church continued its existence. From 1000 till 1301, the kings of the Arpadian dynasty organized the exclusive Latin hierarchy, but, at the same time, they founded numerous monasteries of the Byzantine rite. These monasteries became liturgical and cultural centres of the then christianity till the 13th century.

The invasion of the Mongols and the Ottoman conquest caused a heavy stroke to the Byzantine Church. Besides, the kings of the dynasty of the House of Anjou wished the disappearance of the Byzantine Church,

because they were exclusively interested in the political situation of Western Europe. After the Ottoman occupation which lasted but 50 years, different Slav and Romanian groups established themselves in the regions in the devastated by the Ottomans. These were of the Byzantine rite and were magyarized (hungarized) in course of time, being under the control of the Latin hierarchy. The Byzantine Church has been existing still, but it was deprived of any official organization.

In 1646, the eparchy of Munkács (Mukacevo) entered into ecclesiastical communion with Rome. From that time onwards, the Greek-Catholic bishops of Ruthenia, namely of Munkács (now in the USSR) wished to enclose the Hungarians of eastern rite in their ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The Hungarian Catholics of the Byzantine rite began, from the 18th century onwards, to translate the liturgical texts from the Greek and Old Slavonic liturgical books into Hungarian. The bishops of Munkács helped them in this enterprise. But the Holy See (of Rome) did not allow the usage of the Hungarian language. Officially, preaching and the minor texts could be in Hungarian, but the reading of the canonical texts had to be done either in Greek or Church Slavonic. Although the wish to have the liturgy in Hungarian was not heard, Hungary could receive, above all hopes, a strictly Hungarian eparchy, that of Hajdudorog, in 1912. But this Hungarian Church of the Byzantine rite continued to latinize itself because of the environment of the other Roman Catholic dioceses and the wishes from Rome. It was not possible to change this situation, because of the grave problems Hungary had to face, till the end of World War II. In 1950, the second bishop of the eparchy could open his own seminary, while formerly the seminarians

had followed the courses of the Roman Latin rite Catholics.

At Vatican II, Rome permitted the usage of the Hungarian language in the liturgical celebrations. This was followed by a return to the original theological traditions within the oriental teaching executed in the seminary itself. Nowadays, the good number of seminarians almost 60, in a seminary modernized by the late bishop, Kyr Imre Timko, (d. 1988), receive a formation and an education based on the oriental tradition.

The eparchy of Hajduorog counts at present 158 parishes and about 300,000 Greek-Catholic faithful (those of the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc whose titular Kyr Imre Timko was too, are included). It is a territorial eparchy, but the personal jurisdiction of the bishop of Hajdudorog extends, since the bull "Summis Pontificibus" (1968), on all the Greek-Catholic faithful living in Hungary. His eparchy disposes of three churches in Budapest. The two Greek-Catholic bishops are belonging, of course, to the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Hungary. The auxiliary bishop is residing in Budapest. The seminarians having reached university level, have the possibility to study at the theological faculty of Budapest.

### Pastoral Ministry

The ministry of the Greek-Catholics is strongly marked by the fact that the majority of the priests is found in the villages, and by the role of their wives, a very important and very visible role: 90 per cent of the priests are married. Their wives can easily establish contacts with the faithful and render an exemplary service in regard to the education of the children. They can apply their help to the local community as well as to the whole religious circumscription. They are taking part in the religious



services in the morning before going to their work. The families having several children also can serve as examples. Often, the priestly families of the same ecclesiastical circumscription (protopresbyterate) come together to pray and to exchange their pastoral experiences. The Greek-Catholic priests can hardly isolate themselves from the world: their wives are exercising there a permanent and living activity. Hence the priest's wife can play a great role in the pastoral activity of her husband. It should be known that the wives of the priests must obligatorily make a three day's retreat before their husbands' ordination; later once every three years. It also must be known that it is not possible for a priest to marry after having been ordained, normally at about 25 years. It should be known also, that more and more priests' wives are studying theology in Budapest during a course of three years in order to help their husbands in a better way. Finally it must be known that the priestly ordination of married men has existed in the oriental church since its beginning. *This is an original tradition and not a privilege.*

Today the number of the Greek-Catholics is increasing, so also the number of priestly vocations, which is neither the case with the protestant pastors who also can marry, nor with the Roman Catholic priest. Is this, because, from their earliest years, the children know the liturgy, the hymns... and thus their faith is more interiorized?

Indeed, if formerly Greek and Church Slavonic were the official languages utilized in the liturgy despite the diversity of the ethnicity and the languages (Hungarian, Slovak, Ruthenian, Romanian), the eparchy of Hajdudorog forms nowadays an ecclesiastical unit where everybody speaks Hungarian. Its rite is the Byzantine one which derives from that of

Antioch. The faithful have maintained it, sometimes heroically, during the centuries, as they have been persevering their Catholic faith.

It would go beyond our scope to discuss here theological questions concerning oriental theology. The most important one consists in that the Byzantine theologians have always insisted on the unity in Christ and his divine character in order to discharge the perfection of the redemption and the real possibility of the divinization (*theosis*) for the human nature. This is why one finds in the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom so many doxologies, in which Christ is mentioned together with the Father and the Holy Spirit.

The pastoral zeal of the Greek-Catholic families has got its source in the living union with Christ. This union is realized particularly in the love of the liturgy and of the pastoral service. The teachings of the Fathers are helping us not to forget the active presence of the Holy Spirit in the liturgy that we may be ready for a continuous renewal. In our days, this fact has got an extraordinary importance among the different charismatic movements, because, according to the Byzantine tradition, the source of true spirituality is the liturgy and the Christian community participating in it. This is why the Hungarian Greek-Catholic Church is having the strength to renew itself and to remain young also in our days. After the council Vatican II, the Hungarian language has become the language of the whole liturgy (1964); so it has been again possible to establish a true dialogue between minister and people in the liturgy which is the common work of the priest and the faithful.

It is necessary to add something on the importance of the "priestly generations". When the son of a priest chooses his father's vocation, this is a

living witness of fidelity to the pastoral ministry of the community. Thus the people gets a feeling to be close to their clergy who live with them remaining faithful to them in all their circumstances. One has not, however, to exaggerate this fact; at present, the sons of priests in the seminary are but 25 per cent of the seminarians.

Anyhow, the family of a married priest is manifesting a living example of prayer, be it in the family itself, be it in the community. The priest's children usually play a very important role in the life and the coherence of the catechetical groups. It also happens rather often that the priest is visiting the families of his congregation accompanied by his wife, particularly before the feasts of Christmas and Easter. During such a visit they will pray together with the visited family and also family problems can be easily dealt with.

The eparchy of the Hungarian

Greek-Catholics of Hajdudorog, founded by St. Pius X, celebrated in 1987 the 75th anniversary of its foundation. We have given thanks to the Lord who has protected and maintained us during the centuries of the past. We had a grand pilgrimage to Mariapocs, our famous pilgrimage place dedicated to the Blessed Mother of God, with the participation of the Prefect of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Cardinal Simon Lourdusamy, of the Apostolic Delegate, of numerous Hungarian and foreign bishops, of representatives of the Hungarian State and of 90,000 Greek-Catholic faithful.

Since we had wished to render God thanks in a worthy way and to celebrate appropriately this Gift of his Providence which has been our eparchy, we prepared ourselves for this memorial feast through a "*metanoia*", spiritual renewal, praying the Lord that our faith remain always a living one and our *fidelity indefectible to both our Catholic faith and our Oriental traditions*.

George Fodor

Major Seminary

Eparchy of Hajdudorog

4400 Nyiregyhaza (Hungary, Europe)

Tr. by J. Madey

## NEW PUBLICATION

G. CHEDIATH, Mar Thoma Slihayude Indian Sabha (The Church of St. Thomas), Kottayam, 1988, p. xvi+192. Rs. 15/=. A history of Christianity in India upto the 16th century (in Malayalam).



# The Sakas of India and the Saka Era

India has a national era and Indians are proud of it. Known as the Saka era, it has a perfect calendar with its year commencing on the spring equinox day. Superb though the reckoning of time under this system is, we know little or nothing about the origin of the era and about the person 'Saka' after whom the era is named; nor do we know anything about the great Saka civilization which provided India with this marvellous calendar. Historians appear to be satisfied by connecting the era to the Saka rulers who were dominating the Indian scene at the time of the establishment of the era in 78 A.D.

Many scholars attribute the foundation of the Saka era to Kanishka, the Kushan King. Although "Kanishka was a Kushan and not strictly speaking a Saka, the latter designation was used in India in a wide sense to include all the kindred tribes".<sup>1</sup> A rival theory makes the Kushan king, Kadphises II, the founder of the era and places Kanishka in the second quarter of the second century A.D. A third theory which is now gaining ground is that the era was established by Chastana, the founder of the Saka Kingdom of Ujjain in 78 A.D. This appears to be the most plausible theory.

The earliest available reference to the Saka era is seen in the Simhasoori written in the 22nd year of Simha Varman, the Pallava king of Kanchi. (Saka 380 or A.D. 458). There

are innumerable rock inscriptions in India where Saka era is seen used.

In the Hariharagav rock inscription of Bukharayar of Vijayanagar (Saka 1276 or A.D. 1354), Saka era is referred to as 'Salivahana Saka'. In the states of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra, it is also known as Salivahana era even now. The term 'Salivahana' appears to be an epithet of Saka. The puranas extol him as Sakāditya or Saka, the sun. A copper plate document of 78 A.D. of Taxila shows this name as 'Saka muneasa'.<sup>2</sup> A very strange phenomenon noticed in this connection is that while historians make laborious references to vedic, post-vedic and puranic gods in Indian historical works, they seem totally to ignore any such puranic reference to Saka, the person after whom the Indian national era is named. This omission, in a way, has prevented people from probing into his history with the attention it deserves.

The countrywide use of the Saka era in ancient times indicates that the Saka culture was widely diffused throughout the length and breadth of the country. It was a glorious civilization of a marvellous people. In fact it is the foundation of the present Indian culture and civilization, a fact little known to us now. The monotheistic philosophy of India is its contribution. Although the Upanishads and the Vedantic philosophy are now assigned to the Aryan civilization, they are actually the fruits of

- 
1. R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri and Kalikinkar Datta. *An Advanced History of India*, Part I. 2nd Edn. (1955) pp. 120-121.
  2. Satya Shrivastava, *Sakas in India* (1981) p. 50.

the Saka civilization. Distinct from the four-caste Aryan culture which overran it in later centuries, it had a classless and casteless society. Its unique nature was that it was capable of assimilating into it almost all the tribes of India of that period from the very lowliest to the very highest and elevate even the most primitive clans to a very high sphere of culture and civilization. It was a great unifying force as against that of the Aryans' which divided the people in terms of caste, colour and race which in turn disintegrated the nation. In fact it was the Saka civilization that united India for the first time and gave the concept that India was one from Cape Comerin to the Himalayas. It was not a political unity, but purely cultural. No Indian ruler, for that matter, in all the history of India has ever ruled the entire country, the credit for which goes to the British and to no one else.

The Saka kings ruled over an empire that embraced several provinces from Afghanistan in the north-west to the upper Deccan in the South. The rulers of these administrative units, though independent, styled themselves as 'Satraps' (Kshatrapas) or 'Saka Satraps' and not as kings. The term 'Satrap' is now interpreted to mean 'governor'. We shall see about the significance of this expression later.

The deathknell of the great Saka rule was sounded when a new empire under the Guptas rose in the Ganges valley in the 4th century A.D. Overthrowing the Saka power in India is attributed to Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya (380-415 A.D.) who assumed the title 'Sakari' or the destroyer of the Sakas. He is identified with the Vikramāditya Sakari of the legends, by the historians. Although he liqui-

dated the Saka rulers, it cannot be said that he succeeded in destroying the Saka culture. It survived for long, especially in the south, as is evidenced in the innumerable rock inscriptions of the region.

Who were these remarkable people, the Sakas, to whom we are indebted so much for our culture and civilization? A vital clue to determine this, lies in the fact that the term 'Saka' then included "all the kindred tribes" in India. Who were these "kindred tribes"? According to historians they were the Parthians and the Kushans<sup>3</sup> in addition to the Sakas who had this title presumably earlier. The refined Parthians who migrated from Persia to India and the unrefined Yue-chi nomadic clan of Central Asia, the Kushans, who evidently could not have had any consanguinity, are seen as one people under the common term 'Saka' in India. A great change seems to have taken place in them which drew them together to come under one culture which gave them this Kinship. As the Saka culture flourished for nearly four centuries in the whole of the vast expanse from Afghanistan to Deccan, it will not be incorrect to assume that it had brought under its fold many other tribes as well. Perhaps the majority of the present-day population living in this region must be the progeny of that great people. What then was this singular culture that brought a vast multitude of people under one yoke?

Eminent historians like R. C. Majumdar tell us that Gondopernes, the Parthian king who ruled north-west India in the middle of the first century A. D. was associated with Christ's apostle, St. Thomas<sup>4</sup> and Christianity claims to have established some connection with the Indian borderland

3. R. C. Majumdar and co-authors *op. cit.* p. 118.

4. *Ibid* p. 119.



in the days of Gondophernes.<sup>5</sup> That Gondophernes was a Christian is also attested to in the Acts of Thomas an apocryphal work. Though apocryphal works may contain many improbabilities, the basic fact that St. Thomas and Gondophernes were contemporaries and that St. Thomas had attracted him to Christianity cannot be denied. It was a period when the clannish system of society was very much in vogue; the people were blindly devoted to their leader and were under his patriarchal control. "Cujus regio ejus religio" was the prevailing social order of that time. As such it will not be illogical to suppose that the people of Gondophernes were also Christians like their leader.

Archaeological discoveries in and around Taxila, which include a cross,<sup>6</sup> bear eloquent testimony to the presence of Christianity in the region then. The Gandhara sculptures of the period, found in the ruins of Taxila and north-western India, exhibiting the style of Hellenistic art of Asia-minor also show the close contact the Saka civilization had with the rest of the Christian world. Could we not take all these evidences as hints pointing to the definite possibility of Gondophernes and his people being Christians? We have seen that the Parthians were then termed as 'Sakas' in India by virtue of their culture. Could we not then take it for granted that the designation, saka, which was applied to them was an Indian equivalent of 'Christian' of Asia-minor and the west? We shall see more about this in due course.

We have found that the term 'Saka' had a synonym, Salivahana,

which name is not seen used as an epithet for the people 'Saka'; it was an exclusive title used for a particular person. The people referred to as 'Sakas' were never known as 'Salivahanas'. Even in the legends and folklore connecting Salivahana to Satavahana rulers of ancient Andhra kingdom, this name seems to refer only to an individual and not a people. Similarly the expression Sakāditya also refers to only an individual and not a people. Evidently the name 'Saka' then was a common term that was applied to both the legendary person, Saka or the Saka muneasa of epigraphy and the people, Sakas, who appear to have been devoted to that person, Saka. With the destruction of the Saka power by Vikramāditya,<sup>7</sup> the Sakas in his kingdom were denigrated as 'mlechas' or 'out-castes'.<sup>8</sup> However they continued to flourish in the south, outside his Kingdom for long. That is the reason why we find the protagonists of the various monotheistic schools of Hinduism like Sankara Madhva, Ramanuja and Maikandar hailing from the south and not the north.

Who then was this legendary Person Salivahana who was also known as Saka? As we have seen that the term 'Saka' was an Indian equivalent of 'Christian' of the west, he could have been only Christ, the god of 'Christians' and none else. Thus we now arrive at a possible conclusion that the person 'Saka' after whom the Saka era was named was only the founder of the Saka religion which gave the Sakas their remarkable culture.

It must be borne in mind that St. Thomas preached Christianity in

5. *Ibid* p. 141.

6. George Menachery, *St. Thomas Christian Encyclopaedia of India*. Vol. I. p. 134.

7. D. C. Sarkar, *Indian Epigraphy*. (1965) p. 266.

8. Padma Purana, Swarga Kadam, Sagaropakhyanam. XV and Brahat Samhita R. C. Majumdar and co-authors. *Op. cit.* p. 132.

India much before the New Testament of the Bible was written and before the names 'Christ' and 'Christian' came into vogue. These are Graeco-Roman words coined by St. Paul to make Greeks and Romans understand who the messiah was and what his followers should be. The Hebrew word 'Messiah' means 'the anointed one' and the Greek translation of it is 'Christos' which is from 'Chrio' to anoint. The meaning of 'Christian' according to St. Paul was 'one who puts on Christ'. Similarly to St. Thomas, every follower of the messiah (Saka) was another messiah (Saka). It is this concept that became the seed of Indian philosophical thinking as reflected in some of the Upanishads, Advaita philosophy of Sankara, etc. in later centuries. When St. Thomas preached the messiah in India the names 'Christ' and 'Christian' were unknown to him. 'Saka' therefore appears to have been the term that St. Thomas introduced in India equivalent to 'Christ' and 'Christian' of St. Paul. This is the reason why we find the refined Parthians and the unrefined Yue-chi nomads of Central Asia, the Kushans, coming under one common designation 'Saka' at that point of time in India. Evidently they were all converted to the Saka religion.

Kushan kings had a title 'Deva putra' (Son of Heaven). The significance of this title has to be seen in the above background. It is manifestly a Christian concept, a novel concept to the then world that every follower of the Messiah (son of Heaven) was another Messiah. As St. Thomas was preaching his religion to a people in north-west India whose language had some connection with Hebrew, he appears to have been not confronted with the problem of translating the word 'messiah' to make the people understand its meaning. It may be of interest here to note that in Persian Gulf countries, the terms Christ and

Christian are not in vogue even today. There the corresponding expressions are, the 'Messiah' and 'Messiahy' which could be seen to be almost parallel to the Indian designations 'Saka' and 'Sakya'.

In the confused state of the Saka history, it is a welcome relief that we find in the archaeological discovery of the copper plate document of 78 A.D. of Taxila referred to earlier where we have seen that Saka is qualified as 'muneasa'. Unearthed during the second quarter of the current century, this epigraphic record appears to be the first ever record that we come across in India wherein the word 'easa' is seen used. This word is highly revealing. It clearly shows the divinity of Saka, if not his identity with Christ.

The word 'easa' could either be the Hebrew or the Parthian (Persian) word for Jesus or the abbreviated form of Easwara (God the supreme). In view of the fact that Christianity had already spread to the region then and the Parthians were a dominant group in it, the possibility of the word being Jesus appears to be more likely. However as Saka muni or Sakya muni was considered as Devadeva or God by the Sakas, the word could mean 'Easwara' as well. But the snag here is that it is doubtful if the Sanskrit word 'Easwara' had evolved by then, for if Indian epigraphy is to be relied, Sanskrit had just then only started growing from its Rig Vedic type of language, which according to renowned men like Jawaharlal Nehru, Aurobindo, Eruch B. Farnanda, a noted Parsi Zoroastrian scholar, Dr. Abinash Chandra Das, a former head of the department of vedic studies, Calcutta University etc. is akin to the Pahlavi language. Perhaps, the word 'Easwara' itself might have developed only from this word 'easa'. The vedic Aryans knew only gods like Indra, Varuna, Mitra



etc. who were never considered as Easwaras. These gods were just devas and none of them was known as Devadideva or Easwara. These facts weigh heavily in favour of the word 'easa' being Jesus. Whether the term 'easa' denotes Jesus or God, it is of not much consequence to us here for in as much as we are able to prove beyond all doubt the divinity of Saka with the aid of this epigraphic record (as Jesus is also God), it will suffice. We now know for certain that the concept about the divinity of Saka took root in India with the advent of the Saka religion, much before the time of Nagarjuna who is credited with formulating the basic ideas of Mahayanism, which also considers Sakya-muni as Devadideva or God the Supreme. According to recent researches made in China, Nagarjuna lived in the second half of the second century A.D.<sup>9</sup> Therefore the Saka who was considered as God was originally of the Saka religion and not of Mahayanism as now believed. The latter appears to be only a byproduct of the Saka religion. More about this we shall see later.

Further "there is evidence in the interesting Syriac writing dated 196 A. D. that at that time there were Christians among Kushans".<sup>10</sup> Being clannish in structure, the Kushan community could not have been divided into groups of different religions and cultures. Hence the inference here is that all the Kushans were Christians or Sakas in terms of the then Indian expression.

Not only the tribes Parthians and Kushans, but a host of others, whether of foreign or indigenous stock, who were occupying the region

then must have been brought into this religion. That is the reason why we find Sakas having their sway from Afganistan to Deccan during that period. A small group of people could not have held their authority over another people for so long a period (four centuries) and so vast an area. The involvement of the entire people was an essential prerequisite for such a phenomenon and it is quite apparent here. Yet there is no one to-day who sees the Saka religion as the religion of India of that period. In fact Sakas are now branded as foreigners along with Yavanas, Pahlavas or Parthians and Kushans.

The fact that there existed a people under the title 'Sakas' in the Caspian sea region during the time of Alexander the Great is not denied. They were a different sect. Evidently, our historians are mixing up these two distinctly different Sakas which causes all the confusion about the Sakas of India and their culture.

Another interesting clue that leads us to the fact that Christ and Saka, the Salivahana of legends were one and the same person is that their dates of birth and death are exactly the same. According to the puranas Saka era commences from the dates of birth and death of Salivahana or Saka.<sup>11</sup> As the year under the Saka reckoning commences on the spring equinox day, it could be averred that the dates of birth and death of Saka were on the Spring equinox days. Similar is the case with the dates of birth and death of Christ. The third century Christian chronologers dated the birth and death of Christ on spring equinox days.<sup>12</sup> Does not this striking similarity

9. Samuel Beal. Introduction to 'The Life of Hieun - Tsiang' by the Shaman Hwui Li. (1973) p. xx.

10. George Menachery, *op. cit.* p. 134.

11. Muhoorthamarthandam. Alankaram III; Sabdakalpadhrumam Vol. V;

12. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 4. P. 603. 15th Edn.

point to the possibility of the messiah who was named as Christ in the west and as Saka in India being one and the same person? If so this special feature shows that the Sakas of India were as sure of the dates of birth and death of the messiah as their counter parts in the west.

It may be specially noted that there is not a single person in the whole of India's history, in its ancient and medieval periods, whose dates of birth and death are so precisely known. Were there not any other eminent men in this land of ancient civilization worthy of their dates of birth and death being taken notice of? It may be also noted that the civilization introduced by the Aryans does not give any credence for the date of death of any one. It considers only the date of birth (jayanthi) as important. Against this practice we find here a civilization which gives great consideration for the date of death as well. What does this indicate? Is it not the practice in vogue in the Christian civilization we find here a practice that emerged out of the concept of Christ's victory over death?

The phonetical connection between the messiah and the Saka is also striking. The latter could well be the abbreviated form of the messiah. There having been no letter sounding 'ha' in the language of the region then, the word messiah could have been pronounced only as 'messaka'. Even to-day Tamil, the successor language of the ancient Dravidian Language, Chentamil, has no letter 'ha' in its alphabet. The possibility of the Dravidians having their homeland upto north-western India then, cannot also be ruled out. As the Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency states, "there is

little doubt that the Dravidian languages are incomparably older in point of time than the Sanskrit. It is not an unreasonable supposition that they once occupied the whole of Hindustan." The fact that the Dravidian language 'Brahui' has been preserved to this day in north-western India lends support to this view.<sup>13</sup> The north Indian expeditions of the Chera kings Imayavarambhan and Chenkuttavan referred to in the Sangam and post-sangam literary works<sup>14</sup> attract our attention here. These references can no longer be brushed aside as poetical exaggerations as being done now. They are actual facts of history now lying hidden in our ancient literary works. The expeditions of these kings show the kinship that existed between the people of south and north India in that period.

Confusion also exists in the matter of Kanishka's god Sakya muni. Today the terms Saka and Sakya are taken as two unconnected names. The latter word is now exclusively assigned to Gouthama Buddha. This Buddha of the Maurya king Asoka might have been of the Sakya clan which conferred on him the epithet 'Sakya muni'. The Sakya muni of Asoka (of Hinayanism) was different from Kanishka's Sakya-muni (of Mahayanism). The latter was God, whereas the former was never considered a god. Historians like Ms. Romila Thapar notice a messianic undertone in the religion of Kanishka. But the rest of our historians do not see this connection. They hold that the religions of Kanishka and Asoka were only two branches of one and the same religion founded by Gouthama even though the two religions widely differ. The beliefs in Mahayanism like the divinity of Buddha, his second coming at the end of the world, communion of saints (Buddhisatvas),

13. R. C. Majumdar and Co-authors. *Op. cit.* p. 23.

14. Pathittupathu. II and V and Chilappathikaram III.



aspiration for heaven and not nirvana, veneration of images, importance of prayers and ceremonies, etc. were all alien to Hinayanism. It could be seen without difficulty that these beliefs in the religion of Kanishka are manifestly Christian.

At the time when Mahayanism was taking shape, Christianity was already a prevailing religion in the region where it was so getting formed. What does this indicate? Doesn't it show that Mahayanism is only an offshoot of Christianity or a dissident religion within it like the modern Protestantism? The Naga (snake) cult in Mahayanism also points to this possibility. In a stone panel which is supposed to be illustrating the nativity of the Buddha, discovered at Nagarjunakonda in the middle of the current century by the Archaeological Survey of India, four deities are seen holding up a snake (i. e. the baby Buddha in the form of a snake) swathed in a piece of cloth while the mother stands with folded hands in front of the snake venerating the same and three other deities joyfully dance behind the mother facing the Buddha (Snake)<sup>15</sup>. The sculpture's art in South India then seems to have attained such perfection that the smoke rising from the frankincense used on the occasion is well depicted in this panel. The name Nagarjunakonda for this hill (konda) might have perhaps originated from this one-time temple of nativity (juna or junana) of Nagar (a respectful term for Naga in Tamil) located at this site.

Returning to the beliefs in Mahayanism, if we have indentified only certain similarities between Mahayanism and Christianity, the former appears to be totally similar to the religion of the Ophites, a sect among the Gnostics. Gnosticisim was the

first ever heretical religion that cropped up within Christianity. It is contemporaneous to Mahayanism. The Indian visit of Pantaenus, the founder of the Alexandrine school, who was fighting Gonsticism tooth and nail is significant in this context. He visited India in c. 190 A. D. It is on record that he came to India to settle the theological disputes that were infesting Christianity in India at that time. Obviously the concerned disputes must have been those he was so assiduously fighting. Noteworthy is also the fact that Pantaenus and Nagarjuna, the protagonist of Mahayanism, were contemporaries.

The name Nagarjuna (Nagar+juna) suggests that he was a devotee of Naga. If it was Gouthama whom Mahayanism considered as Naga (snake), then the pertinent question that arises is now he came to be identified with a snake so suddenly at that point of time? What is the history behind this concept? Evidently there appears to be none. But not so is the case with Ophites. If they conceived Christ as a snake, they had a definite story to tell why they did so. Hence will it not be more logical to assume that the origin of the Naga cult in Mahayanism lies in Gnosticism and not Buddhism? The Greek word Gnostic is from 'gnostikos' meaning knowledge or 'bodham' in the Indian languages. So the equivalent of 'Gnostic' in the Indian languages will be 'Buddha'. The Buddhism therefore, with the Naga cult incorporated therein, could have been only Gnoticism and not the Buddhism of Asoka. Thus we come to the possible conclusion that Kanishka's Sakya muni, whom he extolled as Devadi-deva or God was not the same as Asoka's Sakya muni who was not considered a God.

The fact is that the Sakya muni of Kanishka belonged to the Saka

15. R. C. Majumdar and co-authors. *Op. cit.* pp. 237 and 238.

religion which is found in the Indian scene only from the time of Gondophernes. The derivation of the word 'Sakya' here is from the term 'Saka', the God of the Sakas, unlike in the case of Gouthama who got the title Sakya muni because he was of the Sakya clan of the 5th century B. C. Kanishka's Sakya muni was the one known as Salivahana or Sakāditya in Indian legends and folklore and Saka muneasa in epigraphy. Evidently our historians are mixing up the two Sakya munis who had also the title, Buddha, which causes all the confusion.

The term 'Buddha' just means 'the enlightend one'. This is a quality which could be well attributed to both Christ and Gouthama. Dr. C. K. Karim, formerly of the Kerala University, points out that more than one Sanskrit work entitled "Buddha Charitha" (Buddha's history) seen in the archives of the Cochin palace at Tripoonithura (in Kerala) actually narrates the life of Christ.<sup>16</sup> What does this indicate? Is it not a proof positive enough that shows that in ancient India Christ was also known as Buddha?

Furthermore the Sakas of Ujjain traced their descent from their swamin (Lord or God) 'Chastana'.<sup>17</sup> Allusion has already been made here about the king Chastana who founded the Saka dynasty and the Saka era. The name, Chastana, which that king adopted was only a synonym of his God 'Saka'. We have seen that the Saka kings styled themselves as 'Saka satraps' or 'Saka's governors'. Ardent believers as they were, they considered themselves only as governors, ruling the country for and on behalf of their swamin, Saka, who was their invisible

King. This appears to be the reason why the Saka ruler, Chastana, named the era he founded as 'Saka era'.

'Chastana' being the god of Sakas, it could be construed that he was also the god of Kushans as the latter were included in the term 'Sakas' then. The god of Kanishka the Kushan king, is generally known as Sayka muni. Therefore the inference is that Chastana was Sakya muni. This appears to agree so wonderfully well with the puranic dictum, well-known in Kerala that Sakya muni is Chastha muni. Thus we come to the inevitable conclusion that Chastana was Chastha, the connecting link being Sakya muni.

A fact that merits attention here is that the Sakyamuni known as Chastha in Kerala is not identified with Gouthama. He is a different person having his own identity. He is said to be the offspring of Siva and Vishnu of Hindu Thrimoorthy. (It may be noted that Christ came from God the Father with the working of the Holy Spirit of Christian Trinity. This similarity is also striking). Kerala epigraphy shows, though incredible it may look in the context of the present beliefs and notions, that Chathan, the Tamil equivalent of Chastha, was a Christian name in ancient Kerala,<sup>18</sup> which fact points to the possibility of the name Chastana being a Christian name in the contemporary north India as well. If Chastana was a Christian name, it follows that it then referred only to Christ, as Chastana was considered god by the Sakas; Christ is god of Christians. Viewed along these lines we get a clearer concept about the Sakya muni of Kanishka. He appears to be no one other than Christ.

16. N. K. Jose, *Kerala Charithrathiloode*, (1982) p. 35.

17. R. C. Majumdar and Co-authors. *Op. cit.* p. 119

18. Sabdatharavali by Srikanteswaram and the Rock inscription of Thazakadu in Trichur District, Kerala.



The most famous successor of Chastana, the Saka king, was his grand-son, Rudradaman I. Attentively examined, it could be noticed that both these names are purely Indian, unlike some of the names of the Parthians and the Kushans. These names demonstrate the unsoundness of the popular belief that all sakas were foreigners. The 'Sakas' then included a good number of tribes of Indian origin also as already mentioned elsewhere here earlier.

Incidentally it may be stated that according to the linguistic Survey of India, one of the earliest specimens of Sanskrit is seen used in the Junagad rock inscription of Rudradaman I (c. 130-150 A.D.).<sup>19</sup> It is a description about his military exploits. This is cited here to show the connection the Sakas had with the vedic Aryans whose language was Sanskrit and the patronage the former would have given to the latter. Perhaps a good number of the Vedic Aryans also might have embraced the religion of the Sakas. This seems evident from some of the pronouncements in the vedas and puranas. For instance according to Atharva Veda (11-5-3), when the Brahmachari is born, the shining ones come to see him. This reminds one of the angels who came adoring Jesus on his birth. Though the meaning of the word 'Brahmachari' is celibate, this expression here admits of another interpretation. According to the doctoral thesis of Dr. M. Deivanayagam of Madras, Bhrahma is Christ.<sup>20</sup> If this idea is connected here, the term 'Brahmachari' may mean Brahma, the acharya or Christ the teacher. Perhaps the origin of the word Brahmachari, meaning celibate,

itself might be from the fact of Christ's celibacy. Again the Bhavishya Purana (3.2.31) states "I am since known as Jesus Christ" and the purana further speaks very clearly about Jesus Christ the son of God, born of Virgin Mary sinless person and clothed in White."<sup>21</sup>

The Hindu - Aryans who considered Sakas (Christians) as mlechas in the post-Gupta period would not have considered Sakas as mlechas when such vedas and puranas were being written. The matrimonial alliance Rudradaman, the Saka king, entered into with Satavahanas, who are now hailed as Brahmins by Indian scholars, could be cited as another example in support of this truth. In fact Satavahanas were also a kindred tribe of the Sakas for the "memory of the Satavahana dynasty lingers in the story of king Salivahana famous in Indian folk-lore". (R. C. Majumdar). We have already seen that Salivahana is only an epithet of Saka. According to Prabandha Chintamani (p. 28) Salivahana is a synonym of Satavahana. So, if Satavahanas could be considered as Brahmins, Sakas could also be considered as Brahmins. As this is a different subject it may be out of place to discuss it here.

Thus though the marauding forces that overran the Saka power had destroyed all the evidences of that glorious civilization of the Sakas beyond trace, yet we have to-day some archaeological, epigraphic and literary evidences that help us to discover that great civilization.

The contemporary religion that existed in the far off south, outside

19. Sumiti Kumar Chatterji. *Linguistic survey of India* in the 'Cultural Heritage of India'. Vol. I. p. 68. 3rd Edn. 1975.

20. Dr. M. Deivanayagam. 'The Bible, Thirukkural, Saivasidhantham' (doctoral thesis) 1984

21. I. C. Dongre "The Gospel According to the Vedas". The Indian Express Dec. 21, 1980.

the realm of the Saka empire, is now termed as Dravidianism. Dr. M. Deivanayagam in his doctoral thesis while pointing out the fact that to-day no one sees that Dravidianism as Christianity, conclusively proves that the so-called Dravidianism was nothing but Christianity. The then Dravidian civilization was only a continuation of the Saka civilization of the north. The innumerable rock inscriptions in South India with Saka era used therein are evidences sufficient enough to prove this truth. As this is a subject by itself and as it does not come under the purview of this article, it is also not discussed here further.

The fact that Christianity was wide-spread in the whole of India before its Aryanisation or rather Hinduisation, has not yet come to our general notice. However it is heartening to note that the idea has started gaining ground in South India and there is a strong school of thought that holds this view now in this part of the country.

### Conclusion

In short form what has been discussed above, it could be seen that:

1. the Sakas who dominated the Indian scene from Afghanistan in the north-west to the Deccan in the south from the middle of the first century A.D. to the beginning of the fifth century were none other than the messianic people (Christians), of India of that period,
  2. the person, Saka, after whom the Saka era is named is no one other than the Messiah or Christ,
  3. the Saka era was established to commemorate the founding of the Saka or the messianic Kingdom of Ujjain in 78 A. D. and the same was adopted by not only the other Saka kingdoms in the north but also the southern kingdoms as they were all of the same civilization at that point of time.
- The facts such as:
1. the composition of the Saka society and the vigour with which the Saka religion absorbed into it almost all the tribes including the most primitive ones, vitalising them and elevating them to a high sphere of culture and civilization and instilling in the whole of the then Indian people a spirit of kinship,
  2. the messianic beliefs evidenced in Mahayanism, an offshoot of the Saka religion established in India from the time of Gondopernes, the Parthian Christian king in the middle of the first century A. D.,
  3. the epigraphic evidence of Taxila of 78 A. D. declaring that Saka was Easa (Jesus of the Hebrews and the east or God) about a century prior to the life-time of Nagarjuna who is credited with formulating the basic concepts of Mahayanism which conceives Sakyamuni as Devadi-deva or God,
  4. the irrelevance of the Snake-cult, divinity of Buddha etc. of Mahayanism with the Buddhism of Asoka, and the similarity between Gnosticism and Mahayanism,
  5. the ancient Sanskrit works entitled "Buddha charitha" found in the archives of Cochin palace at Tripoonithura narrating the life-history of Christ,
  6. the phonetical co-relation between the terms messiah (*messaka*) and Saka,



7. the striking similarity in the dates of birth and death of the Messiah and Saka,
  8. the observance of the date of death of Saka against the Hindu practice of observing only the date of birth of jayanthi,
  9. the epigraphic evidence in Kerala showing the term 'Chathan' the equivalent of 'Chastana', the God of Sakas to be a Christian name,
  10. the fact that the Sakyamuni known as Chastha (equivalent of Chathan) in Kerala is not identified with Gouthama, but as the offspring of Siva and Vishnu of the Hindu Trimoorthy like the Messiah coming from the Father with the operation of the Holy Spirit of Christian Trinity.
  11. the definite presence of Christianity in South India during the contemporary period,
  12. the absence of monotheistic philosophies in north India during formation of Hinduism in the post-Gupta period and the domination of such beliefs in South India (where the messianic beliefs were still dominating) as evidenced in the philosophies of Sankara, Ramanuja, Madhva and Maikandar,
- etc. discussed here could be taken as proofs sufficient enough to show the correctness of the above findings.

Only when the origin of the Saka era about which the Indians are proud of and the great messianic or Saka civilizations of ancient India that contributed that era are found out, then alone could we say that we have discovered India.

J. J. Morris

# The Relevance of the Study of Eastern Churches for Today

The Second Vatican Council says in its decree *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*: "All clerics and those aspiring sacred orders should be instructed in the rites<sup>1</sup> and especially in the practical norms that must be applied in inter-ritual questions. The laity, too, should be taught about rites and their norms as part of its catechetical formation" (art. 4). This saying is founded on the fact "that this entire heritage of spirituality and liturgy, of discipline and theology in the various traditions belongs to the full catholic and apostolic character of the church" (*Unitatis Redintegratio*, art. 17).

These statements are not meant only for the Catholics belonging to churches of eastern tradition, but are addressed to all the Catholics whatever church *sui iuris*<sup>2</sup> they may belong to. Already Pope Pius XI has pointed to this issue in his encyclical of September 8, 1928.<sup>3</sup> The then Congregation for Universities and Seminaries established thereupon a series of

norms and prescriptions for all the catholic institutions depending on it on August 28, 1929. Special attention should be given to all the questions and issues pertaining to the eastern churches and peoples during the theological studies.<sup>4</sup> Finally the same congregation prescribed in a letter addressed to all the Roman Catholic bishops (i. e. the bishops of the *Roman* or Latin church) that there should be a particular oriental day (*dies orientalis*) in every seminary once a year. Lectures on the oriental churches as well as the celebration of an oriental Divine Liturgy should mark this day.

The letter of the Congregation for Catholic Education of January 6, 1987, signed by the prefect, William Card. Baum, and the secretary, Archbishop Antonie M. Javierre Ortas, has to be understood in the same context. It is addressed to all the bishops, rectors of seminaries, presidents and deans of ecclesiastical faculties, and last not least to the other dicasteries of the

- 
1. The Commission for the Revision of the eastern canon law (CICO) has recently given the ambiguous term "rite" a clear-cut definition. According to it, *rite* is exclusively the liturgical, theological, spiritual and disciplinary heritage of a physical or juridical person. If it is referred to an eastern or to the western (Latin) church in its entirety, the term *Ecclesia sui iuris* (autonomous church) is used. Cf. "Criteria e traccia di lavoro del 'Coetus de Coordinatione'": *Nuntia*, Vatican City 1985, no. 21, p. 74f. For the translation, see *Code of Eastern Canon Law: 1986 draft. English translation*, ed. by the UNITED STATES EASTERN CATHOLIC BISHOPS CONSULTATION, Brooklyn, New York 1987, p. 5.
  2. The new Roman Catholic CIC speaks also of *Ecclesia ritualis* (c. 111 § 1) or *Ecclesia ritualis sui iuris* (c. 111 § 2; c. 112; etc.).
  3. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 1928, p. 277.
  4. *Ibid.* 1929, p. 146ff.



Roman Curia.<sup>5</sup> It rightly emphasizes the lacuna in the Roman Catholic theological studies as regards the eastern churches. After Vatican II, a genuine knowledge of the Christian East is still more urgent than at Pope Pius XI's time.

Many, if not most of the Catholics of the Roman (western) tradition even today are sharing the conviction that the Catholic Church and the Roman Catholic Church are one and the same reality. This opinion prevails not only among simple faithful, but even among clerics and bishops who boast of having graduated from outstanding universities and ecclesiastical faculties, even pontifical ones.

"As Western Catholics, we are not sufficiently free from our ingrained habit of simply identifying ourselves with the 'universal' Church to be able to answer this simple question in a way that preserves the equal dignity and responsibility of the Eastern Catholic Churches in deed as well as in word", writes Robert Barringer. "Twenty years after Vatican II the Decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches still stands as a reminder to us that the basic theological question remains unanswered and that the union of all Churches of East and West depends on finding this answer."<sup>6</sup> This honest statement of a Roman Catholic theologian is not accepted by all, and it is not even shared by many latinized and latinizing orientals who are still fostering an irrational inferiority complex.

In spite of Vatican II, the mere existence of Eastern Catholic Churches as well as the fact that they are belonging to traditions forming integrating parts of the Catholic treasury of belief, are simply disregarded.

For many western Catholics, their eastern catholic brethren are simply something like "orthodox" and remain outside the scope of their interests. Others – and their knowledge is not more developed – not rarely express, with uttermost conviction, their opinion that the eastern catholic churches which are, in comparison to the Roman church *numerically* unimportant, more or less a *quantité négligeable*, ought to adapt themselves also in their externals to the great (Latin) church, which means nothing else than to allow themselves to be absorbed by the latter. In addition to this, there are people who consider themselves to be great ecumenists; from their part one can hear the often repeated, but nevertheless little substantiated assertion, that the 'united Catholics' – and frequently they use a term which has its origin in the old Russian polemics and a pejorative meaning, *Uniates* – are an essential hindrance to ecumenical dialogue and progress, and it would be good if they disappeared from the scene.

This question, however, needs an unbiased handling. An assertion does not become truth only because many, or even a vast majority, repeat it again and again. Who are properly the 'united Catholics'? The term itself means "those who are one, who are linked together". United are on the one hand parts of eastern Christianity possessing all the elements of autonomous churches with the Roman Catholic Church, and on the other hand the Roman Catholic Church with them. In other words: There are no Catholics on the globe who are not also "united", and there is no Catholic church *sui iuris* (autonomous) which is not also "united" with all

5. See para. 8.

6. R. BARRINGER, "'Orientalium Ecclesiarum' deserves more attention". *Byzantine Catholic World* (Pittsburgh, PA 15241) of December 29, 1985, p. 3:

the other Catholic autonomous churches. This counts also for the Roman or Latin church. It is just this fact which is realized as the *communio / koinonia* of the Catholic Church which is in essence *unity in legitimate diversity*. She is not a monolith, but communion of churches.

This is why the Catholic Church is neither western church nor eastern church, but communion, union of East and West, North and South, the vocation of the whole mankind in virtue of the saving and redemptive economy of Christ.

The different traditions in the church are not contradicting each other, but on the contrary supplementing each other. This becomes evident, if we compare e. g. the eastern and western approaches of the mystery of the Holy Trinity. An exclusive approach and meditation of the central mystery remains insufficient.<sup>7</sup>

In autumn 1986, we published a study *Oriental Catholics in Roman Catholic Dioceses: 'Inter-ritual' norms according to the new Codex Juris Canonici*<sup>8</sup> (1983). In its final part, we criticized the lack of any hint on the study of the eastern churches in the canons referring to the curriculum of

the Roman Catholic theological studies. Therefore we welcomed the letter of the Congregation for Catholic Education of January 6, 1987, which was like a response to the study just mentioned. This letter has the character of an *instruction*. It sees clearly the defect in the Roman Catholic theological studies.

This important official document contains hints and guidelines to remedy this situation. It is making pertinent proposals regarding the communication of basic knowledge on the eastern churches within the Roman Catholic theological formation. The Congregation for Catholic Education stresses not only the theological and ecumenical relevance of such a knowledge, but also its importance on the field of the pastorate, for the 'eastern' churches are nowadays present in any part of the world.<sup>9</sup>

The letter has fifteen paragraphs which we are going to explain successively.

#### The contents of the document

1. The introductory paragraph refers to the teaching of Pope John Paul II who, on his pastoral journeys has encountered hierarchs and faithful of catholic and non-catholic

- 
7. This fact was emphasized already in the early works of the later Major Archbishop and Patriarch of the Ukrainians, JOSYF SLIPYI: *Die Trinitätslehre des byzantinischen Patriarchen Photios*: Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie 44 (1920) and 45 (1921), reprinted in I. CHOMA - I. JACKIW, *Opera Omnia Card. Josephi (Slipyj-Kobernyckyj Dyckovskyj)*, Rome 1968, I pp. 93-158; "De principio spirationis in SS. Trinitate": *ibid.* pp. 211-331; "De valore S. Thomas Aquinatis eiusque influxu in theologiam orientalem": *ibid.* pp. 191-210. - See also P. B. T. BILANIUK, "The Father of Modern Ecumenism. Patriarch Joseph Cardinal Slipyj (1892-1984)" *Bohoslovia* 48 (1984) 27-42.
  8. *Der christliche Osten* 41 (1986) 237-245; in English cf. C. PAYNGOT (ED.), *Homage to Mar Cariatil: Pioneer Malabar Ecumenist*, Rome 1987, pp. 111-122.
  9. Cf. J. MADEY, "The Eastern Catholic Churches in the Diaspora: What Roman Catholics should know about their Brethren": *Seminarium* 38/ n. s. 27 (1987) 309-351.



oriental churches in several countries. On June 28, 1985, the Holy Father affirmed in his allocution to the Roman Curia that "*the (Catholic) Church must learn to breathe again with its two lungs, its Eastern one and its Western one.*"<sup>10</sup>

In many of his allocutions dealing with the Christian East, the Roman Pontiff has emphasized always the following points in a particular way:

a) the attitude which should prevail between Roman Catholics and eastern Christians, Catholic orientals as well as non-catholic Orthodox;

b) the general ignorance of the spiritual traditions and values of the eastern churches which are having their origin in the Middle East, North Africa, India and eastern Europe;

c) the relevance and importance these traditions have for the universal church.

It was no doubt a sign which cannot be overlooked that the Holy Father did not only celebrate the delatinized solemn Divine Liturgy, Qurbana, in Kottayam, using also the eastern vestments, on February 8, 1986, and during his latest visit to Poland, that there were, among the deacons he ordained to the presbyterate in Lublin, besides the Roman Catholic deacons also some from the Ukrainian Catholic Church which belongs to the large family tracing their origin to the Byzantine church. In this way, the Roman Pontiff reminded everybody of what the Second Vatican Council had proclaimed: "These individual Churches of the East as of the West ... are ... each as much as the others entrusted to the pastoral government of the Roman

Pontiff, who divinely succeeded St. Peter in the primacy over the universal Church. They are consequently of equal dignity so that none of them is superior to others as regards rite, and they all enjoy the same rights and are under the same obligations, also in regard to *preaching the Gospel to the whole world* (cf. Mk 16, 15), under the direction of the Roman Pontiff".<sup>11</sup>

Eastern and western Christians encounter each other nowadays more frequently due to the development of the means of communication, but also many eastern Christians have found a new homestead in those parts of the world which had received the Gospel from missionaries of the western church.

2. This point is taken into consideration in the second paragraph of our document. Since the beginning of this century many eastern Christians had to abandon their native countries, and this not only for economical reasons (like in the 19th century), but also for political reasons, especially after World War I and still more after World War II, when atheistic communism obtained the dominion of eastern Europe. A massive emigration of eastern Christians from the Holy Land, Lebanon and other countries of the Middle East has not yet stopped.<sup>12</sup> Many millions of Christians of eastern tradition – some of them are belonging already to the third or fourth generation – are living today in Europe, America and Australia.<sup>13</sup> The instruction mentions here also the emigration of eastern Christians within India.

It is quite understandable that such a shifting and mingling of Christians of different ecclesiastical traditions have effects on the pastoral

10. *L'Osservatore Romano* of June 29, 1985, p. 5.

11. *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, no. 3.

12. Cf. J. MADEY, "Oriental catholic Churches in North America: Development and present state": *Christian Orient* 7 (1986) 156–180,

13. See note 9.

work as well as on the religious life of families: marriages between Catholics of different autonomous churches<sup>14</sup> or between Catholics and Orthodox are not rare and demand the observance of certain juridical norms.

Our document makes an appeal to Roman Catholic pastors to make an examination of conscience when it asks the question: "How much is known of the liturgical and spiritual life of the ancient Christian traditions of these new neighbours? Are serious efforts being made to acquire and spread this knowledge and to draw suitable conclusions of a pastoral nature?"

Are these questions not equally addressed to latinized Orientals as well who disregard their own patrimony and are more at home in the western church of their masters of old than in their own one? They are addressed in a particular way to the teaching personnel of ecclesiastical faculties, especially when Orientals are among those who are trained by them.

3. The spiritual opening towards the Orientals and their treasures which we are witnessing since the beginning of this century, has found its visible fruits in that scientific movement which is commonly called "Retour aux sources" (return to the sources). Theological, liturgical and ascetical works of the Fathers of the Church have appeared since then in many languages, in scientific, critical editions<sup>14</sup> as well as in popular publications. In this context we also have to mention the work undertaken by the

Oriental Congregation towards the codification of the oriental ecclesiastical law. The numerous volumes of the sources, *Fonti*, edited by the Pontifical Commission for the Revision of the canon law of the eastern churches, are a proof of these efforts.<sup>15</sup>

Eastern forms of piety, as e.g. the hesychastic prayer of the heart, have met with great interest on the part of faithful of the Roman Catholic Church, too. There remains however, the question, how far these treasures of the eastern tradition have been properly understood and integrated in the lives of those who had adopted them, or whether these treasures had been received rather in a superficial way, imitated for a certain time and then—as it always may happen with "exotic" things—abandoned for good. Many a religious movement initiated with great enthusiasm for oriental things, disappeared completely because of the lack of really serious efforts for a study in depth and true comprehension. Then the spiritual values of the Christian East where the original authentic apostolic heritage has been preserved often in a more perfect way than in the West, did not contribute to an enrichment and growth in prayer, neither in individual nor in communal life. This also counts for certain religious communities in the West which, in the last decades after Vatican II, believed to seek for an enrichment of their own spirituality rather the experience of spirituality in Asian non-Christian religions. From such a point of departure, lacking any biblical and patristic background as lived in the eastern churches, the

14. We name e. g. "Bibliothek der Kirchenväter" and "Schriften des Kirchenväter", "Sources chretiennes", "Patrologia Orientalis", "Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium", etc.

15. They are divided into three series. For details, see D. FALTIN, "La Codificazione del Diritto Canonico Orientale": *La Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali nel Cinquantesimo della Fondazione (1917-1967)*, Rome 1969, pp. 121-137.



path to syncretism was not far and many unsound developments have found the way into the theological thought of those who regarded the others as "conservative".<sup>16</sup>

4. Therefore our document exhorts all to remember what the Second Vatican Council *really* said and not to refer to a certain, ominous, indefinite "spirit of the council." The sayings of the decree *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* which emphasized the importance and the role of the eastern catholic churches in this time and desires their development, remain as actual as chapter 3/1 of the decree *Unitatis Redintegratio* where the rich treasures "from a common tradition which Catholics still share with Orthodox despite the fact that, at present, there is not full communion between them" are made manifest.

5. A genuine study in depth of the tradition of the Church cannot and may not leave out of consideration the particular traditions proper to the apostolic churches. As the universal church is a *communio of churches* (*communio Ecclesiarum*), it is just because of this fact that each individual church enjoys, within this communion the same dignity and the same rights. Therefore a reconsideration of the sources is indispensable. The study of the traditions of the first centuries shows a multitude of expression and, at the same time, a wonderful spiritual agreement. For the theologian who studies these sources, this occupation will bring enrichment

and better understanding of the doctrines of our faith. "By returning to the essential sources of the faith, theologian who belongs to a particular church not only enriches himself through this experience of the 'others', but also, through this method, return to his own roots... Studied in this wide historical context, the teachings of the faith are better understood because they are seen as rising out of a truly living environment".

In other words, this means that Patrology has to get, within the theological curriculum, its appropriate place. It is not at all sufficient, if it only has a shady existence as part of the subject "Church history".

6. Our instruction rightly points' in this context, to the rich experience the eastern churches possess in the field of what is called nowadays "inculturation", i. e. "knowing how to plant the message of the Gospel in the native soil of the genuine traditions of various peoples".

Inculturation stressed by the Second Vatican Council in *Lumen gentium*, *Gaudium et Spes* and *Ad Gentes* does certainly not mean only a superficial adaptation which we can observe nowadays in many places and which Pope John Paul II as well as realistic, level-headed missiologists deplore.

The oriental churches have been confronted with the issue of indigenisation and inculturation from

16. The fatal words of the "anonymous Christians" (K. Rahner) seems to be explained by everybody according to his or her taste. How far aberration into syncretism can go, is clearly seen with B. GRIFFITHS, *Marriage of East and West: Hope for Mankind*, London 1982 (German translation, Salzburg 1983), who puts Christian revelation on the same level as Vedic and Jewish revelation. For the author, Christian revelation is rebirth of myth, and he places into this framework the "Myth Christ" and the "Myth Church." The same tendency can be seen with W. BUEHLMANN in his "dreams" of a church for the third millenium. For him, there is no contradiction between the Hindu and Buddhist concepts of reincarnation and Christian doctrine.

the very beginning, and they have developed a mastery in this domain, without obscuring or blurring the differences. They always have remained faithful to what is essential truth.

It is worthwhile to make a thorough study of the development of the rite of the church of Alexandria in the Ethiopian church or of the Syro-Oriental rite in the Church of the Indian Thomas Christians in pre-Portuguese time.<sup>17</sup>

Taken this under consideration, our document says: "The study of this process can serve as an example and guide for those involved in a similar process today. It can indicate those ways which the experience of centuries shows to be profitable and which *distinguish them from superficial adaptations which may only harm the process and perhaps even deform the faith itself*".<sup>18</sup> In like manner, this can be useful also in other fields of theological and pastoral life, e. g. in the renewal of the liturgy and the adaptation of the canonical discipline, "as well as church history (particularly where it touches upon what united Christians, what brought about their divisions and what may still be maintaining them)."

7. The observance of all that has been said above would indeed only strengthen the *communion* of the

Catholic individual churches of different traditions. Tensions between "Latin" and eastern Catholics could be reduced, even avoided, and the latter could play, in the life of the universal church, that role which is due to them and to which they are called: They could make manifest in face of the whole world, that it is quite possible to be *Catholic*, i. e. to live the communion with the church of Rome, without being *Roman Catholic*. If this truth had been lived always, the tragic and regretful history of the eastern Catholic churches in the diaspora, e. g. in North America and elsewhere which brought forth several schisms<sup>19</sup>, would have had another course. The attitude of the Roman Catholic hierarchy of India and their followers in relation to the two eastern churches of the soil today leaves much to be desired. It is a scandal that they have refused till now to accept the principles of the *communion* proclaimed by the Second Vatican Council, and this has led and is leading often to unbearable tensions.<sup>20</sup>

At the same time, the ecumenical efforts of Catholics and Orthodox would profit from it. Many obstacles and hindrances would disappear, if the Orthodox could perceive a *living and lived communion* among the autonomous catholic churches and not open or hidden attempts of certain

17. Cf. ABUNA PAULOS (CARD.) TZADUA, "The Divine Liturgy according to the rite of the Ethiopian Church: J. MADEY (ED.), *The Eucharistic Liturgy in the Christian East*, Kottayam-Paderborn 1982, 37-68; A. THAZHATH, *The Juridical Sources of the Syro-Malabar Church* (= OIRSI 106), Kottayam 1987, 33-63. Reference should also be made to the writing of the late Placid J. Podipara.

18. See note 16.

19. Cf. V. J. POSPISHIL, *Ex Occidente Lex - From the West the Law: The Eastern Catholic Churches under the Tutelage of the Holy see of Rome*, Carteret, NJ 07008, 1979; see also note 12.

20. In this context see also the letter of Pope John Paul II addressed to the hierarchy in India in which the establishment of a Chaldeo- or Syro-Malabar eparchy in the Bombay-Pune region is announced. Reprinted in *Christian Orient* 8 (1987) 95-98. Cf. the commenting notes on this document by our late colleague THOMAS VELLILAMTHADAM, *ibid.* 85-94.



representatives of the Roman Catholic Church to diminish the legitimate rights and customs of the autonomous eastern churches to such an extent that their individuality is affected.

Finally, "the entire church, in its renewal and adaptation to the needs of the present, can *profit* from the experiences of the past and *from the pluriformity of Christian traditions* which are part of its history and heritage".

8. The Congregation for Catholic Education therefore exhorts the other responsible dicasteries of the Roman Curia, but also the authorities of the different autonomous churches, to open themselves for these issues. As regards the realm of the Congregation for Catholic Education, a series of *guidelines* and *directives* are offered:

9. The bishops and the superiors of religious institutes are *emphatically exhorted* to send qualified clerics and other faithful to the *Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome*<sup>21</sup> founded 70 years ago by Pope Benedict XV, to support them during the time of their studies and to use them effectively in diocesan and religious institutions. The need of experts in the field of "eastern churches" is large in the Western church. The institute just mentioned disposes of two faculties: (1) the faculty of eastern Churches' doctrines, (2) the

faculty of eastern canon law. This institute was not founded for students exclusively of the eastern churches, but also for such belonging to the western church. It is affiliated with the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome.<sup>22</sup> Besides this institute, there are only two institutes of higher religious education in the world which can be considered as "eastern" having the rank of universities, namely (1) the Holy Spirit University run by the Order of the Maronite Monks of Lebanon (O. L. M.) at Kaslik near Beirut, and (2) the Pontifical Oriental Institute of Religious Studies, "Paurastya Vidya-pitham", at Vadavathoor (Kottayam).<sup>23</sup> Post-graduates could, of course, also make use of these two institutions, not only in order to obtain academic degrees, but to serve their own local church or religious institute.

The document also stresses the following: "Seminaries, institutes for the formation of deacons or directors of religious education, teacher training institutes are examples of the types of institutions whose work would be rendered more effective if they could call upon the regular assistance of *persons whose serious academic training qualifies them as experts in the field of Eastern Christian studies*"

10. This paragraph shows some of the concrete tasks of the

21. Cf. S. CONGREGAZIONE PER LE CHIESE ORIENTALI, *Oriente Cattolico: Cenni storici e statistiche*, Vatican City 1974, 745-752.

22. The Pontifical Biblical Institute and the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome are called "consociati" to the Gregorian University. *Annuario Pontificio* 1987, p. 1491.

23. There are two more theological faculties in India which are attended by eastern Catholics and which are sometimes listed among oriental ecclesiastical academic institutions, because of their relation to the Oriental Congregation. These schools of theology (the Dharmaram Pontifical Institute of Theology and Philosophy, Bangalore, and the Pontifical Institute of Theology and Philosophy, Alwaye), however, are rather occidental in character. Oriental theology plays rather a subordinate role there. The Alwaye institute is not even under the exclusive supervision of the eastern hierarchy; it is from its beginning "inter-ritual".

theological faculties and seminaries. They have to communicate

a) a basic knowledge of the eastern churches, their theological teachings, liturgical and spiritual traditions;

b) a complete and real knowledge of the Fathers of the church, eastern and western;

c) also in the other subjects of learning, the heritage of the christian East should be an essential part of teaching, *in order both to enrich the studies of the students of the Latin Rite and to promote a better appreciation of the Oriental Churches*".

Some points which are indispensable and have to be dealt with in the theological formation are expressly mentioned: the doctrine on the Trinity, Christology, Pneumatology (in this context also the issue of the *filioque*, the western addition to the Creed of Nicaea, is to be treated), the relation between nature and 'supernature', grace, the eucharistic nature of the church, the 'Mystery' celebrated in the liturgy.<sup>24</sup>

The students should also be prepared for the pastoral problems arising from the living together of different autonomous churches in the same place. "Where possible, this formation should include direct contact with Eastern Christian communities and their liturgical life. The students should recognise and

come to understand the liturgical and cultural diversity among the Eastern Catholic Churches."

11. In the faculties of *canon law* – and the same is certainly valid also for Canonical Institutes and Seminars within theological faculties –, the ecclesiastical law of the eastern catholic churches, the codification of which is about to be promulgated in the near future, must be given due consideration. Also the main elements of canon law in force with the Eastern Orthodox Churches and the Oriental Orthodox Churches, should be a matter of teaching, as these have their origin in the early councils of the then still undivided church.

This knowledge is not only important for those who are teaching canon law, but also for the collaborators of diocesan tribunals and chanceries.

In Catholic colleges and universities, some treatment of eastern christianity should be included in the general curriculum of teaching. This counts also for minor seminaries and those institutions of advanced formation for the laity as "Pastoral institutes" or other centres of learning. Where there is a significant number of teachers and students belonging to churches of eastern traditions, the bishops have to care for their pastoral and intellectual needs in order "to making possible a sufficient academic formation in their religious and

24. A step towards the realization of this intention has been done recently by W. HRYNIEWICZ with his "Compendium of a Christian Theology of Pasch". So far two volumes have been published. As the work is written in Polish, it will be accessible only to few people outside Poland, unless it will be translated. The author is a member of the official Catholic-Orthodox Commission for the theological dialogue and vice director of the Ecumenical Institute of the Catholic University in Poland. To be complete, we give here the bibliographical data of his work: *Zarys chrześcijańskiej teologii paschalnej* (Compendium of a Christian Theology of Pasch): vol. I: *Chrystus – Nasza Pascha* (Christ our Pasch), Lublin 1982; vol. II: *Nasza Pascha z Chrystusem* (Our Pasch with Christ), Lublin 1987; vol. III – under preparation.



cultural traditions". Our document exhorts also to establishing particular *Eastern Churches Institutes* within the faculties to provide academic formation in those areas. Such institutes are not limited to theological faculties.

In India, there are eight ecclesiastical faculties of which *only one is strictly oriental*. Only a few of the others offer courses on eastern churches by inviting visiting professors from the Paurastya Vidyāpītham. This courses, however, scarcely can replace permanent academic institutes. Hence the defect in this area cannot be overlooked. In other parts of the world, the situation is not much better. In the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, there is but one such institute at the university of Münster, while there is a chair for eastern theology also at the university of Würzburg. Another chair of eastern theology is the faculty of Catholic in the university of Vienna (Austria). Besides, there are three chairs for orthodox theology at the universities of Münster, Munich and Graz (Austria). 13. In order to deepen the eastern christian studies, the instruction prescribes to supply the libraries of the faculties and colleges with books, reviews and other means necessary for the instruction on eastern churches.

14. According to the *Ecumenical Directory*, part II, chapter IV, collaboration between Catholic and Orthodox authorities and professors is recommended. In this regard, there are already some promising beginnings between eastern Catholics and Orthodox. So, e.g., the Greek Orthodox ("Melkite") patriarchate of Antioch is sending boys who wish to become priests of their church, to the Minor Seminary of the Melkite-Greek Catholic Patriarchate in Damascus for high school studies, and the seminarians

of St. Gregory Major Seminary of the Melkite-Greek Catholic Eparchy of Newton, MA (USA), are enrolled in the faculty of Holy Cross School of Theology at Brookline, MA, belonging to the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America which is under the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.<sup>25</sup>

15. The last paragraph of our document states emphatically, that despite all progress to be observed here and there, there remains a great need among Catholics of the western tradition regarding the knowledge of peoples, traditions and churches of the Christian East. The inspirations and signs put forward by Pope Benedict XV and later Pope Pius XI, which have been taken up also by their successors, have not lost anything of their actuality, on the contrary, they must no longer remain dead letter, but must be filled with life. The Second Vatican Council has marked the way to achieve this goal, especially in its documents *Lumen Gentium*, *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* and *Unitatis Redintegratio*.

There is also a defect with the members of the eastern catholic churches which has to be mentioned in this context, but not so much in regard to the western (Latin) church which they know rather well, but in regard to the other eastern catholic churches.

And so the document under consideration should also be encouragement and exhortation to acquire a better knowledge and more appreciation for their sister churches.

In obedience to the Second Vatican Council, the Congregation for Catholic Education adopted the intentions of the Fathers. It has proposed now *concrete guidelines*,

25. See *Le Lien: Revue du Patriarcat Grec-Melkite-Catholique - Almanach de la Communauté grecque-melkite Catholique 1986*, Beirut 1986, pp. 40 and 163.

# Communique

of the

## **Fifth non-official Consultation between theologians of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church (Vienna, September 18-25, 1988)**

The fifth non-official ecumenical consultation between theologians of Oriental Orthodox churches and the Roman Catholic Church was held at the Bildungshaus Lainz, Vienna from Sunday, September 18th to Sunday, September 25th, 1988.

The purpose of the fifth meeting, as according to the agenda explained by co-chairmen Bishop Mesrob Krikorian (Oriental Orthodox) and Fr. John Long S. J. (Roman Catholic), was to review the work of the series of four meetings in 1971, 73, 76, and 78, to assess official actions taken by the churches in the past ten years, and to chart steps to overcome the remaining obstacles on the path to restoration of full communion.

There were nine participants from the five Oriental Orthodox Churches, each delegation led by a bishop. Among Roman Catholic participants there were three members of the hierarchy among the nine theologians. Observers came from the Vatican Secretariat for promoting Christian Unity, from the Russian Orthodox Church, and from the Anglican Communion, as well as from the Coptic and Armenian

Catholic Churches; and the Foundation Pro Oriente was represented by a delegation of three, including the President and the General Secretary.

The opening liturgy was celebrated in the neighbouring Syrian Orthodox Parish Church of St. Ephrem, with His Grace Dr. Paulos Mar Gregorios of India, a President of the World Council of Churches as celebrant and His Eminence Dr. Hans Hermann Groer, Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna preached the sermon. H. E. Cardinal Groer also formally inaugurated the consultation later. Every working day began with a liturgy of one of the six Churches. The concluding worship was a celebration of High Mass in the Metropolitan and Episcopal Cathedral of Vienna, with H. E. Hans Hermann Cardinal Groer as Chief celebrant and H. G. Archbishop Timotheos of Kefa as preacher.

More than 20 papers were presented on the purpose of the Consultation on assessment of the theological significance of the four Vienna Consultations, and on consideration of past proposals and future plans leading to restoration of love, trust and

expecting that attention will be given to them by those in responsibility, in the first instance by the bishops and the other addressees, but also by the students. We believe that this document deserves being attended, warmly

received and executed into practice. Then the often quoted *Sentire cum Ecclesia* would find a convincing expression. Will the ecclesiastical authorities come up to this expectation?

John Madey



communion among the churches. In this connection, four papers, two from each side were presented on the theological, i. e. Trinitarian, Christological and Ecclesiological implications of liturgical texts of the praying Church.

The conversations were held in a cordial atmosphere of openness and love, with mutual respect and faithfulness to the tradition of the Church, trusting in the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

The Consultation noted with gratitude the fact that the christological consensus arrived at in the first four Conversations had led to joint statements affirming a common faith by His Holiness Pope Paul VI and His Holiness Pope Shenouda of Alexandria as well as the Pope John Paul II of Rome and His Holiness Patriarch Zakka I Iwas of Antioch. It was noted with gratitude that a common statement on Christology was formally approved by the Episcopal Synod of the Coptic Orthodox Church and signed by the official representatives of the Coptic Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church in February 1988. This common statement made use of the formulations developed at the Vienna Consultations.

The fifth Consultation emphasized that the great mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God could not be exhaustively formulated in words, and that within the limits of condemned errors like Arianism, Nestorianism and Eutychianism, a certain plurality of expressions was permissible in relation to the inseparable and unconfused hypostatic unity of the human and the divine in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God incarnate by the Holy Spirit of the Blessed Virgin Mary, consubstantial with God the Father in His divinity and consubstantial with us in his humanity.

A second major positive result of the first four Vienna Consultations

was in relation to mutual anathemata. Several churches have, in the interest of better ecumenical relations, given up condemning fathers and teachers of the other side by name in their liturgical practice. It was recognized that it may not be possible or necessary to lift these ancient Anathemas formally; wrong teaching should however continue to be reproved.

In relation to councils, it was reaffirmed that our common ecumenical basis is the faith of the first three Ecumenical Councils, i. e. Nicea (325), Constantinople (381) and Ephesus (431). In relation to councils held after that it was recognized that the Oriental Orthodox Churches were not in a position formally to accept these councils –irrespective of the question whether they actually participated in these later councils or not. The later councils should continue to be a subject of common study and reflection in the light of the historical circumstances of the time when they were held, and with due consideration to their faithfulness or otherwise to the Apostolic Tradition of the Church.

In relation to the question of "reception" of councils, we saw that conciliar decision, confirmation of the decisions, and their reception by the churches were integral parts of a single process, not to be separated from each other. There are some decisions of councils regarded as ecumenical which have not been received by all churches. There are also canonical decrees of the council of Chalcedon and later councils which find their place in the canons of some Oriental Orthodox Churches, even when they refuse to receive the doctrinal formulation or horos of these councils. In general the Oriental Orthodox Churches did not see the necessity of a formal confirmation – procedure intervening between decision and reception, except as an action by local synods forming an integral part of the reception

process. It was also recognized that the substance of a particular decision of a council can be integrated into the living tradition of a church without a formal reception of the conciliar decision as such.

On the question of primacy, it was recognized that each Church has its own form of primacy. The responsibility of a Primate, be he Patriarch, Catholicos or Pope is not understood in the same way in the different churches though all recognize that primacy is related to the conciliar life of the church.

In the Oriental Orthodox Churches, primacy is exercised within each church and not by one church over others. However, when primates meet in an ecclesial context, there is an agreed protocol of ranking attributed to them.

According to the Roman Catholic understanding, in virtue of his primacy, within the communion of churches, the Bishop of Rome exercises a unique service ordered to maintaining the unity of the churches.

It is clear, then, that here must be further reflection on the question of primacy, what it means how it is to be exercised within a church, as well as among the many churches. To aid this reflection, it is proposed that here be discussions which will include the following questions:

- 1) authority in the Church as having its roots in the sacramentality of the Church;
- 2) personal and synodical authority in the Church beyond the level of the local bishop considered from the liturgical, canonical and pastoral tradition of each of the churches;
- 3) conciliarity as an expression of communion of churches in the light of the two previous subjects.

With regard to an ecclesiological basis for the unity of the Church, the consultation saw the need both for autonomy and decentralisation of authority on the one hand, and for some central coordination on the other. The concrete theological and practical principles for working this out were not fully agreed upon but it is hoped that the studies mentioned above will make a significant contribution for further agreement on this matter.

In order to move forward the recommendations made here, the consultation proposes to "Pro Oriente", the formation of a small group, which will meet more frequently and search out the most effective methods to implement these recommendations and encourage the continuation of this work. Among its activities will be to gather from the churches those further issues which they consider necessary for, or of vital importance to the dialogue between our churches and arrange for the proper discussion of these. Some of these issues which have already been suggested among the participants are a consideration e.g. of the "procession of the Holy Spirit" and the "immaculate conception".

Furthermore the consultations renews the statement of the 1976 meeting and earnestly requests that a Joint Commission composed of bishops, theologians and pastoral ministers to be set up by churches represented here which will:

- a) look more closely into the agreements and disagreements which have been uncovered in these unofficial consultations and present them to Church authorities and people for study and action;
- b) examine the issues and actions which continue to harm relations between the churches and make specific recommendations for changing the situations;



# News

## International Syriac Symposium

The fifth International Syriac Symposium was held on Aug. 28 - 31, 1988 at Louvain. It was organized by the Oriental Faculty of the Catholic University of Louvain. There were 89 participants from 16 countries. Among them 11 were from India. About 60 papers were presented in the Symposium. The topics were Syriac Language, Syriac Theology and other matters connected with Syriac Churches. Four of the Indian participants presented their papers. — Prof. Dr. Jacob Vellian: "The influence of Syriac language among the Mar Thoma Christians and in the Malayalam language". — Prof. Dr. Jacob Kollamparampil: — "Keenai near Seleucia Ctesiphon". — Dr. Jacob Thekkeparampil: "The prayers for the dead in the West Syrian Church". — Prof. Dr. Geevarghese Chediath: "The Syriac Books burned according to the decisions of Diamper Synod". At the end of the Symposium, Dr. Thekkeparampil was chosen to the International Committee for the organization of the Syriac Symposium.

## Cardinal Padiyara - a member of the Canon Law Commission

His Eminence Cardinal Antony Padiyara, the Archbishop of the Syro-Malabar Archdiocese of Ernakulam, has been nominated as a member of the Commission for the Oriental Canon Law. This commission has been working since several years and the draft of the Code has been sent for observations.

- 
- c) make recommendations to the churches regarding practical steps that need to be taken towards promoting common action, where possible, and further steps towards unity.

Finally, the consultation urgently appeals to all of the churches re-

presented here to set up a joint official body to engage in that formal dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the family of the Oriental Orthodox Churches which will have as its objective the achieving of full communion in faith and sacramental life.

## REPRINT

G. Chediath, *Sabharitrapathanangal* (Studies in Church History), 1989 p. 250. Rs. 18 (Malayalam); A Publication of the Oriental Institute of Religious Studies, P. B. 1., Vadavathoor, Kottayam, Kerala, India.

# INDEX

VOL. IX - 1988

## No. 1 Ecclesiology

		Page
Editorial	X. Koodapuzha	1
An Autonomous Metropolitan Church	John Madey	3
A Catholic Perspective of Ecclesial Communion	Pierre Duprey	11
The New Vision of the Role of Authority in the Church According to Vatican II	X. Koodapuzha	22
Problems and Prospects of Ecumenism in the Eastern Catholic Churches	E. R. Hambye	34
List of the Bishops of the Thomas Christians	G. Chediath	39
Book Reviews		44
News		46

## No. 2 & 3 Liturgy

Editorial	J. Vellian	49
One of the Soldiers Pierced	S. P. Brock	51
Marriage Customs of the Knanites	J. Vellian	60
The Order of the Service of the Sacrament of Matrimony of the Syro-Malankara Church	C. A. Abraham	68
The Jewish Sacrament of Marriage	J. B. Segal	72
Positive Steps in the Inter-Ecclesial Relations	X. Koodapuzha	75
Congregatio Pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus	D. Simon Card. Lourdsamy	77
Directives On the Order of Syro-Malabar Qurbana in Solemn and Simple Forms	D. Simon Card. Lourdsamy	79
Concelebration in the Syro-Malabar Church	V. Pathikulangara	87
An Evaluation of the Liturgical 'Directives' of 1988 from the Congregation of the Oriental Churches	T. Thomas	92
Epiclesis in the Anaphora of Addai and Mari	T. Mannoorampampil	134
Book Reviews		148
News		150

## No. 4 Ecumenism

Editorial	G. Chediath	153
Oriental Theology	K. Luke	155
Proselytism-A term to be Reconsidered	Octavian Barlea	171
A Church Coming of Age	George Forder	176
The Sakas and the Saka Era	J. J. Morris	180
The Relevance of the study of Eastern Churches for today	John Madey	191
Communique of the Fifth Non-Official Ecumenical Consultation between Theologians of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church		201
News		204
Index		205



## ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES PUBLICATIONS

P. B. No. 1 Vadavathoor, Kottayam, Kerala, India.

99. G. Chediath, *Antiöchian Sabha-Udbhavavum Valarchayum*, 1986, p. 278. Rs. 25. (m)
100. G. Chediath, *Theodore-Matādhyaṇa Prasangangal*, 1986, p. xxxii+301. Rs. 25 (m)
101. J. Kottackal, *An Introduction to Bible*, 1986, p. 204. Rs. 18.
102. G. Chediath, *Origen, Uttamagūṭhabhāsyam*, 1986, p. xii+292. Rs. 25. (m)
103. I. Pandiath, *Pulhenkūṭtukār*, 1986, p. 241. Rs. 12. (m).
104. P. J. Podipara, *The Canonical Sources of the Syro-Malabar Church*, 1986, p. 151. Rs. 25.
105. J. Madey, *Ecumenism Ecumenical Movement and Eastern Churches*, 1986, p. 312. Rs. 40.
106. A. Thazhath, *The Juridical Sources of the Syro-Malabar Church*, 1986, p. 400. Rs. 60.
107. A. Urumpackal, *Vocations in India-vol. I. The Religious Women*, 1986, p. xxii+350. Rs. 120.
108. G. Chediath, *Apostōlika Pītākanmār*, 1987. p. xii+238. Rs. 15 (m).
109. G. Chediath, *Didascalia*, 1987, p. 215. Rs. 15 (m).
110. J. Madey, *Orientalium Ecclesiarum-More than Twenty Years after*, 1987, p. 176. Rs. 30.
111. G. Chediath, *Sabhāpītākanmār. vol. I.* 1987. p. 275. Rs. 20 (m).
112. X. Koodapuzha, *Sabhāvijñānīyam*, 1988, p. 514. Rs. 55 (m).
113. G. Thadikatt, *Mārthōma Kristyānikalude Pāramparyangal*, 1988, p. 124. Rs. 12 (m)
114. X. Koodapuzha, ed., *Oriental Churches-Theological Dimension*, 1988, p. 352, Rs. 60.
115. G. Chediath, *Prārthana Sabhayil*, 1988, p. 316. Rs. 18 (m).
116. G. Chediath, *Sabhāpīthākanmār, vol. II*, 1988, p. 265, Rs. 16 (m).
117. S. Kanjiramukalil, *Malankara Kathōlika Sabhayude Vyakthithwam*, 1988, p. 290. Rs. 28 (m)
118. A. Urumpackal, *Vocations in India-vol. II. The Clergy*, 1988, p. 352, Rs. 100.
119. M. Vellanikal, *Mariam Bibilil*, 1988, p. 145, Rs. 14 (m).
120. Paremakal, *Varthamānapusthakam*, 1988, p. 550, Rs. 50 (m).
121. G. Chediath, *Mārthōma Slīhāyude Indian Sabha*, 1988, p. viii+190, Rs. 15 (m).

m = malayalam





